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लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् निबध्नन्ति।

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रुद्रकृता गायत्री-स्तुतिः

(पद्मपु०, आनन्दाश्रम०, ५ सृष्टिखण्ड, अ० १७, श्लो० ३०९-३३५)

नमोऽस्तु ते वेदमातरष्टाक्षरविशोधिते ।
गायत्री दुर्गतरणी वाणी सप्तविधा तथा ॥ ३०९ ॥
सर्वाणि स्तुतिशास्त्राणि गाथाश्च नियमास्तथा ।
अक्षराणि च सर्वाणि लक्षणानि तथैव च ॥ ३१० ॥
भाष्याणि सर्वशास्त्राणि त्वं तु देवि नमोऽस्तु ते ।
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त्वं सिद्धिः श्रीः प्रिया कीर्त्तिः क्रिया प्रीतिः क्षमा तथा ।
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बहुरूपा विश्वरूपा सुनेत्रा पद्मधारिणी ।
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राजद्वारेषु तीर्थेषु नदीनां संगमेषु च ॥ ३३० ॥

पूर्णिमा पूर्णचन्द्रे तु बुद्धिर्नीत्यां क्षमावृतिः ।
उमादेवी च नारीणां श्रूयते वरवर्णिनी ॥ ३३१ ॥

इन्द्रस्य चारुदृष्टिस्त्वं सहस्रनयनोपगा ।
ऋषीणां धर्मबुद्धिस्त्वं देवानां च परायणा ।
कर्षकाणां च सीताऽसि भूतानां धरणी तथा ॥ ३३२ ॥

नृणां बन्धं वधं चैव पुत्रनाशं धनक्षयम् ।
व्याधिं मृत्युभयं चैव पूजिता नाशयिष्यसि ॥ ३३३ ॥
तथा तु कार्त्तिके मासि पौर्णमास्यां सुपूजिता ।
सर्वकामप्रदा देवि भविष्यसि वरप्रदे ॥ ३३४ ॥
यश्चेदं पठते स्तोत्रं शृणुयाद् वाऽपि भक्तितः ।
सर्वार्थसिद्धिं लभते नरो नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ ३३५ ॥*

[This *Stuti* deals with the three aspects or forms of Goddess Gāyatrī; viz. (1) Gāyatrī as identified, like Sarasvatī, with speech and learning, (2) Gāyatrī as represented in her anthropomorphic form, and (3) Gāyatrī as conceived in her cosmic form.

(1) Gāyatrī as identified with speech (or word) is the famous *Gāyatrī-mantra* of the Vedas, तत्सवितु० (ऋ० 3.62.10, साम० उ० 6.3.10, वाज० सं० 3.35, तै० सं० 1.5.6.4, तै० आ० 1.11.2). In the form of this *Gāyatrī-mantra* Gāyatrī has been called here as the *Veda-mātā* (Mother of the Vedas), and as consisting of the eight syllables. Elsewhere also in the Padma-Purāṇa (Sṛṣṭi-Kh.). Gāyatrī herself refers to her *mantra-form* and calls herself as the *Veda-mātā* and *aṣṭākṣarā*—"विशेषात् पुष्करे स्नात्वा मां जप्त्वा वेदमातरम् ।" (V. 17.278 cd), "ओंकारेण त्रिमात्रेण अर्धेन च विशेषतः । पूज्याः सर्वे न संदेहो जप्त्वा मां शिरसा सह ॥" (284 cd, 285 ab), "अष्टाक्षरा स्थिता चाहम्" (285 c), "माताऽहं सर्ववेदानां पदैः सर्वैरलंकृता । जप्त्वा मां परमां सिद्धिं यास्यन्ति द्विजसत्तमाः ॥" (286), "प्राधान्यं मम जाप्येन सर्वेषां वो भविष्यति । गायत्रीसारमात्रोऽपि वरं विप्रः सुयन्त्रितः ॥" (287) etc.

The word-form of Gāyatrī is not only limited to the *Gāyatrī-mantra* alone, but also includes all the letters (अक्षराणि च सर्वाणि) and the sevenfold speech (वाणी सप्तविधा तथा) in the form of the seven principal metres of the Vedas, and the seven notes of the gamut. Like Gāyatrī as the *Saptavidhā Vāṇī* (as mentioned in this *stuti* of the Padma-Purāṇa) Saras-

* Śloka numbers from 316 onward have been re-arranged according to the sense.

vatī has also been mentioned as *Sapta-svasā* (having seven sisters) in the Ṛgveda (6.61.10), and Sāyaṇa explains it as 'सप्त स्वसा गायत्र्यादीनि सप्त छन्दांसि'; and in the Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa (BvP), Sarasvatī also has been spoken of as 'सर्वसंगीतसंधानतालकारणरूपिणी' (II. 1.34).

In the form of learning or *Vidyā* Gāyatrī has been identified here with all the *Stuti-śāstras* (treatises consisting of and dealing with divine praises), *Gāthās* (traditional songs or verses), *Bhāṣyas* (commentaries; cf. also 'व्याख्यास्वरूपा या देवी' said of Sarasvatī in BvP. II. 5. 16), and *Śāstras* (religious, philosophical and scientific treatises).

(2) In her anthropomorphic form Gāyatrī has been represented here as of the fairest colour, white like the moon. The exquisite beauty of the various parts of her body is described here in a very picturesque style.

According to the Padma-P. (V. 16) she was originally a *gopa-kanyā* (daughter of a cowherd). When Brahmā commenced his great *yajña* in Puṣkara, he sent for his wife Sāvitrī to join the ceremony, but when Sāvitrī delayed, Brahmā asked Indra to search for another wife so that the auspicious time fixed for the commencement of the *yajña* might not lapse. There-upon Indra brought a *gopa-kanyā* and married her to Brahmā with the *gandharva* ceremony. She thus became the Younger co-wife of Sāvitrī, hence she has been called here in this *stuti* as सावित्र्यवरजा (Younger sister of Sāvitrī). This *gopa-kanyā* was the Goddess Gāyatrī. Accompanied with her Brahmā commenced the *yajña*. During the ceremony Gāyatrī blessed the gods and goddesses, and on this occasion Rudra praised Gāyatrī with the above *stotra*.

The special characteristic of Gāyatrī's anthropomorphic form, as mentioned here, is her holding in her hand a *deer-horn* ('एणशृङ्गं करे गृह्य' 312 c). Else-

where also the Padma-Purāṇa mentions this characteristic—"मृगश्रृङ्गधरा बाला क्षौमवस्त्रावगुण्ठिता। पत्नीशालां तदा नीता ऋत्विग्भिर्वेदपारगैः ॥" (V. 16. 187), "पत्नीशालास्थिता गोपी एणश्रृङ्गा समेखला। क्षौमवस्त्रपरीधाना ध्यायन्ती परमं पदम् ॥" (V. 17. 134), etc.

In the iconographical representation Gāyatrī has been mentioned in this *Stuti* as seated on the left side of Brahmā, and Sāvitrī on his right side in all the temples of Brahmā (Śl. 327), but specially in Puṣkara as mentioned in Pd. P., V. 29. 81. Elsewhere also the Padma-P. refers to this fact when Sāvitrī says to Gāyatrī—"सर्वकार्ये त्वहं चास्य दक्षिणं पक्षमास्थिता। सव्यं त्वमास्थिता साध्वी पार्श्वे नारदपुष्करौ ॥ ब्रह्मस्थानानि चान्यानि स्थितान्यायतनानि च। उभे वै शोभमाने वै यावत्सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥ भवत्या च मया चैव स्थातव्यं तु न संशयः ॥ पुष्करे ब्रह्मणः पार्श्वे वामं पक्षमुपाश्रिता। अनेन चोपदेशेन (v. l. गोपवेषेण) सुखं तिष्ठ मयान्विता ॥ (V. 29. 78-81). The Matsya-Purāṇa in its iconographical Chapter (Ān. 260), however says—'वामपार्श्वेऽस्य सावित्रीं दक्षिणे च सरस्वतीम्। अग्रे च ऋषयस्तद्वत् कार्याः पैतामहे पदे ॥ (Śl. 144-45). (108 places of Brahmā-worship are mentioned in the Padma-Purāṇa, V. 29. 132-159).

(3) In her cosmic form Gāyatrī has been mentioned here as *Viśva-rūpā* i. e. manifested in all the forms of the universe. She is the essence of every thing in the world, e. g. She is the beauty of the beautiful, the light of the luminaries. (Śl. 329).

Her pantheistic aspect is also clear here. She is Brahmāṇi, Lakṣmī and Umā, and also the Mother of all the gods. In the form of the earth she is the supporter of all the beings.

The worship of Gāyatrī destroys even the fear of death, and the man who recites this stotra is said to obtain all success—].

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

ŚĀKHĀS OF THE YAJURVEDA IN THE PURĀṆAS

BY

GANGA SAGAR RAI

[निबन्धेऽस्मिन् प्रायेण पुराणोक्तानां शुक्लयजुर्वेदशाखानां विमर्शः कृतः। यजुर्वेदस्य शाखासंख्याविषये मतान्यनेकान्युपलभ्यन्ते। तेषां सम्यक् विवेचनमत्र प्रस्तुतम्। पुराणेषु समुपलब्धानां अन्यग्रंथेषु चापि निर्दिष्टानां काण्वमाध्यन्दिनादीनां प्रमुखानां शाखानां वर्णनं अन्यासामपि यत्र तत्र निर्दिष्टानां बौधेयावस्त्यादिशाखानां वर्णनं प्रस्तुतम्। कासाञ्चिद् अन्यासामपि शाखानां निर्देशोऽत्र कृतः वर्तते।]

The Yajurveda is a collection of 'Mantras' meant for the sacrificial purposes. The word Yajus is defined by some as a *mantra* in verse having indefinite number of syllables.[1] Others hold that Yajus is what is composed in prose.[2] Others define it negatively and say that Yajus is that which is not ṚK and Sāman.[3] Hence it may be said that the Yajurveda is a mixture of prose-formulae and verses generally meant for sacrifice. The Yajurveda is a ritual literature and hence variations in it are more natural than in the other Vedas. Today we actually possess, not only in tradition, as in the case of other Saṁhitās, but in actual form, no less than six complete Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda.

Like the Ṛgveda, here too, in the case of the Śākhās of the Yajurveda authorities differ about the number of the schools of the Yajurveda. The Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka[4] gives the number of the Yajurvedic schools as 86. On the other hand, the Muktikopaniṣat[5] mention 109 Śākhās of the Yajurveda.

1. अनियताक्षरावसानो यजुः।
2. गद्यात्मको यजुः।
3. शेषे यजुः। (Jaiminīya Sūtra, 2. 1. 36.)
4. यजुर्वेदस्य षडशीतिर्भेदा भवन्ति। (Part II, P. 31, chaukhamba ed.).
5. नवाधिकशतं शाखा यजुषो मारुतात्मज। (Muktikopaniṣad.)

The Atharvan Caraṇavyūha[6] is aware of 24 Śākhās. The Mahābhārata[7] narrates hundied and one Śākhās and it is confirmed by Divyāvadāna[8] and the Mahābhāṣya.[9] The Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā is of the same view.[10] The Vāyu-Purāṇa[11] gives the same number which is supported by the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa.[12] The Kūrma-Purāṇa speaks of hundred Śākhās.[13] The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa differs and according to it the number of the Śākhās of the Yajur-Veda is 42.[14] The number 101 however is favoured by most of the authorities and it is confirmed also by the colophons occuring in some MSS of the Kāṭhaka-Saṁhitā.[15]

IMPORTANCE OF YAJURVEDA.

According to some of the Purāṇas, the Yajurveda is the earliest Veda and the remaining three Vedas sprang from it.[16] The large number of the Śākhās of the Yajurveda indicates the popularity and wide currency of this Veda. In this connection Prof. Weber is right when he remarks, "the Yajurveda to which now we turn, is distinguished above the other Vedas by the great number of different schools which belong to it."[17]

6. तत्र यजुर्वेदस्य चतुर्विंशतिर्भेदा भवन्ति । Atharvan Pariśiṣṭa, 49.
7. षट् पञ्चाशतमष्टौ च सप्तत्रिंशतमित्युत ।
   यस्मिन्शाखा यजुर्वेदे सोऽहमाध्वर्यवे स्मृतः ॥ Śānti-Parvan, 353.33.
8. इतीयं ब्राह्मणाध्वर्यूणां शाखा । एकविंशत्यध्वर्यवो भूत्वा एकोत्तरं शतधा भिन्नम् । Avadāna, XXXIII, (Cowel & Neil's ed.)
9. एकशतमध्वर्युशाखाः । Mahābhāsya.
10. शतं चैका च शाखाः स्युर्यजुषामेकवर्त्मनाम् ॥ XII. 9.
11. इत्येते वाजिनः प्रोक्ता दश पञ्च च संस्मृताः ।
    शतमेकाधिकं कृत्स्नं यजुषां वै विकल्पकाः ॥ Vāyu-P., 61. 26.
12. शतमेकाधिकं ज्ञेयं यजुषां ये विकल्पकाः ॥ Brahmāṇḍa-P., I. 35.30
13. शाखानां तु शतेनैव यजुर्वेदमथाकरोत् ॥ Kūrma-P., I, 52 19
14. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, III. 5. 1; III 5 29.
15. इत्येकोत्तरशतशाखाऽध्वर्युप्रभेदभिन्ने श्रीमद्यजुर्वेदे Quoted from Kāṭhaka-Saṃkalana, Intro. p. 3.
16. एक आसीद्यजुर्वेदस्तं चतुर्धा व्यकल्पयत् ।
    चातुर्होत्रमभूत्तस्मिंस्तेन यज्ञमथाकरोत् ॥ Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, III. 4. 11; Br. P., I. 34. 17; Vāyu-P., 60. 17, Kūrma-Purāṇa, I. 52. 16.
17. Weber, Lecturers on the History of Indian Lit., P. 35

The Yajurveda is divided into two divisions—the White or *Śukla* Yajurveda and the Black or *Kṛṣṇa* Yajurveda. The number of the Śākhās of the Śukla Yajurveda is less than that of the Kṛṣṇa. For the sake of convenience we take first the Śākhās of the Śukla Yajurveda.

(A) Śākhās of the Śukla Yajurveda.

"The Chief difference between the Saṁhitās of the 'Black' and the 'White' Yajurveda lies in the fact that the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* contains only the Mantras, i. e. the prayers and sacrificial formulae which the priest has to utter, while the Saṁhitās of the Balck Yajurveda, besides the Mantras, contain a presentation of the sacrificial rites belonging to them as well as discussions on the same".[18] This Veda was taught to Yājñavalkya by Sūrya or God Sun. According to the Purāṇas, Yājñavalkya was a student of Vaiśampāyana. Once Vaiśampāyana was charged of killing a *Brāhmaṇa* (*brahmahatyā*). He said to his students to perform *Vrata* so that he may be free from this sin. Yājñavalkya out of reverence to his teacher, seeing his friends unable to perform such *Vrata* requested his teacher to entrust this duty only on his shoulders. In this connection he also expressed the incapacity of his other friends to perform such *Vrata*. Hearing this from Yājñavalkya, Vaiśampāyana was enraged. He asked Yājñavalkya to return to him all the *Vidyās* taught by him. Yājñavalkya vomitted all the Yajus-s taught by Vaiśampāyana and then prayed to Lord Sūrya for new ones. God Sūrya, pleased by his prayers taught him new Yajus-s, the White Yajurveda.[19]

The White or Śukla Yajurveda has another designation as the 'Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā'. According to Sāyaṇa *'vāja'* means 'grain' (*anna*). The Ṛṣi who was liberal in grains was called Vājasani. The son of the sage Vājasani is Vājasaneya. He is

18. Winternitz., A History of Indian Lit., Vol. I., Part I., P. 149.
19. Viṣṇu-P., III. 5.2-26 ; Vāyu-P., 61. 12-22 ; Bhāg. XII. 626. -74 ; Brahmāṇḍa, I. 35. 18-26.

also called Yājñavalkya.[20] According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa God Sun, while teaching the White Yajurveda to Yājñavalkya, took the form of a horse, so all those who learnt this Veda were called *Vājins*.[21] On the contrary, the Vāyu-Purāṇa narrates that Yājñavalkya himself took form of a horse and learnt the Yajurveda from the Sun.[22]

Thus, Yājñavalkya is the first propagator of this Veda. According to the Purāṇas he was a pupil of Vaiśampāyana and the son of Brahmarāta. In the Mahābhārata, Vaiśampāyana is said to be the *Mātula* (maternal uncle) of Yājñavalkya.[23] Yājñavalkya acted as an *adhvaryu*-priest in the Rājasūya-sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira.[24] He was present in the court of Yudhiṣṭhira.[25] He taught sacred knowledge to king Janaka, the Vaideha.[26] In the Purāṇas he is said to be the pupil of Hiraṇyanābha.[27] In the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the name of Yājñavalkya's father is mentioned as Brahmarāta.[28] But in the Bhāg. Purāṇa the name appears as Devarāta (Bhāg. XII. 6.64).

According to the references in the Purāṇas Yājñavalkya is related to king Janaka of Mithilā (Brahmāṇḍa II. 32.3 & 16; 34.27. 45-68). The Mahābhārata also confirms this view. The

20. वाज इति अन्नस्य नामधेयम् । 'अन्नं वै वाजः' इति श्रुतेः । वाजस्य सनिर्दानं यस्य महर्षेरस्ति सोऽयं वाजसनिः । तस्य पुत्रो वाजसनेयस्तस्य याज्ञवल्क्य इति नामधेयम् ॥ (Sāyaṇa's Intro. to Kāṇva-Bhāsya)

21. यजूंषि यैरधीतानि तानि विप्रैर्द्विजोत्तम ।
वाजिनस्ते समाख्याताः सूर्योऽप्यश्वोऽभूद्यतः ॥ (Viṣṇu-P., III. 5. 28)

22. अश्वरूपाय मार्तण्डो याज्ञवल्क्याय धीमते । (Vāyu 61.21 ; Brahmāṇḍa, I. 35.25)
Pargiter thinks the version of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas is correct. He says ".. and that the name Vājin arose because he was aśva-rupa...but Vājin was misunderstood as a 'horse', and so he is styled Aśvarūpa (p. 323-324). Vis. misunderstanding, makes the Sun appear aśva-rūpa. Bhāg. copied. (P. 324 footnote 1.—Ancient Indian Historical Traditions).

23. Śāntiparvan 323.15.

24. Sabhāparvan, 33.35

25. Ibid. 4.12.

26. Śānti-Parvan, chs. 310-318.

27. Bhāg. IX. 12. 3-5 ; Viṣṇu 4.4.107.

28. Visṇu-Purāṇa, 3.5.2.

same is repeated in the Mahāvīra-carita of Bhavabhūti. The Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (chs. III & IV) refers to the presence of Yājñavalkya in the sacrifice of Janaka. The dispute between Yājñavalkya and Śākalya at the sacrifice of Janaka is variously narrated in the Purāṇas (Br. II. 34. 32-67; Vāyu, Ch. 60). In the Yogi-Yājñavalkya (III) and Yājñavalkya-Smṛti (I-2) he is said to be staying in Mithilā (*Mithilāstha*). On the other hand, in the Skanda-Purāṇa he is associated with Saurāṣṭra.[29] As mentioned, according to the Mahābhārata he was present in the court and sacrifice of king Yudhiṣṭhira. Thus we may surmise that the major part of his life was connected with northern India. He may have also visited or temporarily resided in other parts of the country. This is also confirmed by the wide currency of this Veda in Northern India. According to Pargiter the Vājasaneya school was established in or by the time of Janamejaya III.[30]

Śākhās of the Śukla Yajurveda—The Śukla Yajurveda is said to have 15 Śākhās. But unfortunately the texts about the names of these Śākhās vary. Thus the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa mentions the following schools of this Veda :—

याज्ञवल्क्यस्य शिष्यास्ते कण्वो बौधेय एव च ।
मध्यन्दिनस्तु सापत्यो वैधेयश्चाद्धबौद्धकौ ।
तापनीयाश्च वत्साश्च तथा जाबालकेवलौ ॥
आवटी च तथा पुण्ड्रो वैणोयः सपराशरः ।
इत्येते वाजिनः प्रोक्ताः दश पञ्च च सत्तमाः ॥ (I. 35. 28-29.)

In the Vāyu-Purāṇa the names are as follows :—

याज्ञवल्क्यस्य शिष्यास्ते कण्वबोधेयशालिनः ।
मध्यन्दिनश्च शापेयी विदग्धश्चाप्य उद्दलः ।
ताम्रायणश्च वात्स्यश्च तथा गालवशैशिरी ।
आटवी च तथा पर्णी वीरणी सपरायणः ।
इत्येते वाजिनः प्रोक्ता दश पञ्च च संस्मृताः ॥ (Vāyu,61.24—6.)

29. Skanda-Purāṇa, Nāgara-Khaṇḍa 174,55.
30. Janamejaya III was the son of Parīksita (Pargiter P. 328, 324.)

The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, after narrating the quarrel between Yājñavalkya and Vaiśampāyana, says:

शाखाभेदास्तु तेषां वै दश पञ्च च वाजिनाम् ।
काण्वाद्याः सुमहाभाग याज्ञवल्क्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ III. 5. 29.

In the Śrīmadbhāgavata, the Story of origin of the schools of the White Yajurveda is told and it puts its Śākhās as follows:

यजुर्भिरकरोच्छाखा दशपञ्च शतैर्विभुः ॥
जगृहुर्वाजसन्यस्ता काण्वमाध्यन्दिनादयः ॥ XII. 6. 74

In the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka the following 15 Śākhās are mentioned:—

जाबाला बौद्धायनाः काण्वा माध्यन्दिनेयाः शाफेयास्तापनीयाः कपोला पौण्डरवत्सा आवटिकाः परमावटिकाः पराशरा वैणेया वैधेया अद्धा बौधेयाश्चेति ।
P. 32

In the Atharvan Caraṇavyūha, Sāyaṇa's Introduction to the Kāṇvabhāṣya, Pratijñā-Pariśiṣṭa and Āryavidyā-Sudhākara also these name are noted with some variations. These differences are due to the fact that the writers of these texts were not directly concerned with the tradition of these Śākhās and in some cases it is possible that due to scribal mistakes these discripencies occurred.

When such discrepancies occur in the texts it is not easy to settle the correct names of these Śākhās. Pt. Bhagavad-datta gives the following fifteen names of the Śākhās of the white Yajurveda as generally acceptable:—

Jābāla, Baudheya, Kāṇva, Mādhyandina, Śāpeyi, Tāpanīya, Kapola, Pauṇḍra-Vatsa, Āvaṭika, Paramāvaṭika, Parāśara, Vaiṇeya, Vaidheya, Kātyāyana and Vaijavāpa.[31]

Now a brief description of these Śākhās is given here:—

(1) *The Jābāla Śākhā*:—In the Chāndogya-up. the story of a Jābāla is narrated in detail. There he is regarded as the

31. Vaidika Vāṅmaya kā Itihāsa, p. 266.

student of Hāridrumata Gautama.[32] In the Bṛhadāraṇyaka[33] a Jābālāyan is said to be the pupil of Mādhyandināyana. According to the Mahābhārata a Jābāla was one of the *Brahmavādin*-sons of Viśvāmitra.[34] The Matsya-Purāṇa mentions a Jābāla.[35] A Jābāli Ṛṣi is mentioned in the Vāmana-Purāṇa. This Ṛṣi is regarded here as son of Ṛṣi Ṛtadhvaja.[36] Pāṇini's acquaintance with this Śākhā may be inferred from his mention of this name.[37] No Saṁhitā or Brāhmaṇa of this Śākhā is available. Only a Jābālopaniṣad is available, but it is uncertain whether it originally belonged to the Y. V. or Atharvaveda. A Jābāla-Darśanopaniṣad belongs to the Sāmaveda.[38] In the epics Jābāla is a gotra name.[39]

(2) *The Baudheya Śākhā* :—The other variations of this name are Baudhāyana, Gaudheya, Gaudhāyana and Audheya. Nothing of this Śākhā has come down to us.[39a] No reference to this name is traced. In the Mahābhārata a Bodhi Piṅgala appears as Adhvaryu-priest of King Janamejaya.[40] But it is uncertain whether he is identical with the founder of this Śākhā.

(3) *The Kāṇva Śākhā* :—This Śākhā has preserved both its Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa. It is one of the pronounced schools of the White Yajurveda. According to the Mahārṇava, the Kāṇva-Śākhā is first among the schools of the White Yajurveda.[41] In the Viṣṇu[42] and the Bhāgavata[43] Purāṇas also it is referred to as the first Śākhā. It is very difficult to identify Kaṇva, the founder of this Śākhā among the various Kaṇvas of the

32. Chāndogya-up., IV. 4. 15.
33. Bṛhadāraṇyaka-up., IV. 6.
34. Anuśāsana-parva, 4. 55.
35. Matsya-P., 198. 4.
36. Vāmana-P., 63. 38 ff.
37. Pāṇini, VI. 3. 38.
38. Kalyāṇa (Upanisadāṅka), p. 709.
39. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition p. 237.
39a. Max Muller, History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 191.
40. Ādiparva, 53. 6.
41. ऋषिणा याज्ञवल्क्येन सर्वदेशेषु विस्तृता । वाजसनेयवेदस्य प्रथमा काण्वसंज्ञका ।
42. काण्वाद्यास्सुमहाभाग याज्ञवल्क्यप्रवर्तिता: ॥ Viṣṇu, III. 5. 29 ed.
43. जगृहुर्वाजसन्यस्ता काण्वमाध्यन्दिनादयः ॥ Bhāg., XII. 6. 74 ed.

Purāṇas. In some places he is said to be a son of Apratiratha and father of Medhātithi[43a]; Śakuntalā was brought up in his Āśrama.[44] He is also said to be a sage and contemporary of Kṛṣṇa with whom he went to Mithilā. He was invited by king Yudhisthira to his *Rājasūya*. He left Dvārakā for Piṇḍāraka.[45] In other Purāṇas he is called an Angirasa and Mantrakṛt. Here his studentship of Yājñavalkya is confirmed.[46] At some places he is said to be the son of Ajamīḍhā.[47] According to the Purāṇas the members of the family of the Brāhmaṇas originated from Kaṇva were called Kāṇvāyanas.[48] According to the Mahābhārata Kaṇva was a brāhmaṇa of Kaśyapa-gotra. His hermitage was on the bank of river Mālinī.[49] He brought up Śakuntalā and married her to Duśyanta.[50] From these references it may be concluded that Kaṇva was a famous personality of his age. Pāṇini is also acquainted with Kaṇva.[51]

The Saṁhitā and the Brāhmaṇa of the Kāṇvas are now available. The Kāṇva-Saṁhitā contains 40 *Adhyāyas*, 328 *Anuvākas* and 2086 verses.[52]. The Mādhyandina-Saṁhita contains 1975 verses. Thus, the Kāṇva Saṁhitā has 111 verses more than the Mādhyandina-Saṁhitā. The Brāhmaṇa of the Kāṇvas as well as of the Mādhyandinas is called the 'Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa'. But there is some minor differences between the two Brāhmaṇas. In the Kāṇva-Śatapatha, there are 17 Kāṇḍas, 104 Adhyāyas and 6806 Kaṇḍikās. The subject-matter of both the Brāhmaṇas is same but the order is different.[53] The Kalpasūtra of Kātyāyana

43a. For detail, see Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition pp. 225-226.
44. Bh g. IX. 20. 6-12. 18; Visnu. 4. 19. 5-6.
45. Bhāg. X. 86. 18; XI. 1. 12; X. 74. 7.
46. Brahmāṇḍa-P. 35. 28; Vayu, 61. 24.
47. Matsya, 49. 46.
48. Visṇu. IV. 19. 7.
49. I. 70 21-28.
50. Ibid, I. 73, 74.
51. कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे । Pāṇini, IV. 2. III.
52. For details see Kānva-Saṁhitā, Ed. by Satavalekar, Aundha, 1943.
53. For details see Kāṇva-Śatapatha, Ed. by Dr. W. Caland, Introduction.

is prescribed for the followers of these Śākhās. According to Mahādeva, the commentator of the Hiraṇaya-keśi-sūtra, Kātyāyana-sūtra was prescribed for both the schools.[54] The school of the Kāṇvas was especially related to Pāñcarātra-Āgama. In the Jayākhya-Samhitā (a text of the Pañcarātrins) the five main followers of the Pañcarātra are said to be the followers of the Kāṇva-śākhā.[55] From this statement a relation between the two is clear.[56]

(4) *The Mādhyandina Śākhā* :—The Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇa of this Veda are now in wide currency. At the present, the followers of this Śākhā are found in almost every part of Northern India. The name of this Śākhā as usual is derived from the Ṛṣi Madhyandina. No personal account of this Ṛṣi is found in the Purāṇas. Only he is said as the pupil of Yājñavalkya. Pāṇini has referred to this name.[57] In the Samhitā of the Mādhyandinas, there are 40 Adhyāyas, 303 Anuvākas and 1975 verses. The Brāhmaṇa of the Śākhā is called the Mādhyandina-Śatapatha. It has 14 Kāṇḍas, 100 Adhyāyas, 64 Prapāṭhakas, 438 Brāhmaṇas and 7624 Kaṇḍikās. The rules laid down by Kātyāyana Sūtra are observed in the Śākhā of the Mādhyandinas. Pargiter has placed the founder of this Śākhā in the time of Aśvamedhadatta.[58]

(5) *The Śāpeyi Śākhā* :—Other variations of this name are Śāpeya, Śāpīyas and Sāpheyas. Pāṇini was aware of this name.[59] In the commentary on the Kātyāyana-Prātiśākhya the name of Śābīya Śākhā is twice referred to.[60] It is probable that the Śābīya-Śākhā of the commentator is the Śāpīya-Śākhā. Nothing of this Śākhā is known. The Purāṇas are silent about this Ṛṣi.

54. आश्वलायनीयं कात्यायनीयं च सूत्रं भिन्नाध्ययनयोर्द्वयोर्द्वयोः शाखयोरेकमेव, —Mahādeva's Com. on Hiraṇyakeśin Sūtra, beginning.
55. इमे च पञ्च गोत्रस्था मुख्याः काण्वीमुपाश्रिताः । पाञ्चरात्रतन्त्रीयं सर्वेऽस्मिन्मम-कर्मणि—gayākhya Samhitā, I. 116.
56. Cf. B. D. Upādhyāya, 'Bhāgavata-Sampradaya' pp. 112-113.
57. पृषदंश मल्लकीय रथन्तर मध्यन्दिन । Uṣṭādigaṇa.
58. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 331.
59. शौनक वाजसनेय शार्ङ्गरव शापेय —Śaunakādi-Gaṇa
60. Ananta Bhaṭṭa's com. on Kātyāyana-Pr. 3. 43; 3. 47.

(6) *The Tāpanīya Śākhā* :—This Śākhā also, like many others, exists only in references. No literature of this Śākhā is preserved. The other variations of this name are Tāpāyanīya, Tāpāyana and Sthāpanīya.

(7) *The Kapola Śākhā* :—This Śākhā has been totally lost. Even references to this school are not found. The variations of this name are Kevala, Kapola and Kalāpa.

(8) *The Pauṇḍravatsa Śākhā* :—The two other variations of this name are Vatsa and Vātsya. According to the Mahābhārata, Pauṇḍra is the name of a country which was captured by Kṛṣṇa.[61] It may be probable that Vatsa, being the resident of Pauṇḍra country was called Pauṇḍravatsa. In the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa a quarrel between Vatsa ond Medhātithi is narrated.[62] Here both Vatsa and Medhātithi are called Kāṇvas. In the Mahābhārata a Vatsa is said to be present in the sacrifice of Janamejaya. In the Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra a Vatsa is mentioned. No literature of this Śākhā is known.

(9) *The Āvaṭī Śākhā* :—This Śākhā is also called as Āvaṭika. The name Āṭavī occuring in the Vāyu-Purāṇa and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa a is variation of Āvaṭī. No literature of this Śākhā is available. Pāṇini seems aware of this school. He has mentioned the name of Āvaṭī.[63]

(10) *The Paramāvaṭika Śākhā* :—From the name of this Śākhā it appears that it was closely related to Āvaṭī or Āvaṭika Śākhā and the difference between the two was minor. The version of the Vāyu-Purāṇa is Parṇī. Nothing is known of this Śākhā.

(11) *Parāśara-Śākhā* :—The ancient textual tradition accepts Parāśara as the founder of a Śākhā of the white Yajurveda. Pāṇini repeatedly mentions him.[64] Whether Pāṇini intended to mean this Parāśara or some one else is not certain. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas variously refer to Parāśara. A Parāśara

61. Dronaparva, 11. 15.

62. Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmana, 14. 6. 6.

63. आवट्याच्च Pāṇini, IV. I. 57.

64. See, Gargādi-Gaṇa, and Kṛśāśvādi-Gaṇa.

is said to be the father of Veda-vyāsa. The Dharma Sūtra of Parāśara is available.

(12) *The Vaiṇeya-Śākhā* :—The other Variations of this name are Vainateya, Vīraṇī and Vaiṇoya. Nothing is known about this Śākhā.

(13) *The Vaidheya Śākhā* :—This Śākhā is also completely unknown.

(14) *The Kātyāyana-Śākhā* :—The variant form of this name is Kaunteya, which is a corrupt form of this name. In the Purāṇic list of the Śākhās of the White Yajurveda this name does not occur. In the Caraṇavyūhas also this name is absent. According to Max-Muller this Śākhā was of later origin. The Śrauta and the Gṛhya Sūtras of Kātyāyana are available. From the existence of the Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya it may be inferred that originally this Śākhā had its own Saṁhitā for which the Prātiśākhya was written. Whether the Sūtra-writer Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana, the grammarian are identical is not known. A Kātyāyana Ṛṣi is mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[65]

(15) *The Vaijavāpa Śākhā* :—Variations of this name are Vaijaka, Vaijapa and Vaijava. A Gṛhya Sūtra of this Śākhā is pnblished.[66]

As all the texts do not give the same names so many names are not included in these 15 above-mentioned names. Some other names mentioned in the Purāṇas are as follows :

(1) *Audheya or Addha Śākhā* :— According to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa Addha is a Śākhā of the White Yajurveda. The Vāyu-Purāṇa has some different reading and it reads as Vidagdha. Somewhere Udheya is also mentioned as the name of a Śākhā. Nothing is known about this Śākhā.

65. Sabhāparvan 7. 19.

66. Published in the Fourth All-India Oriental Conference Proceedings, Vol. II. pp. 59-67

(2) *The Uddala Śākhā* :—The Vāyu-Purāṇa refers to an Uddala Śākhā. The name may be a variant of Addha or Audheya. Nothing has survived of this Śākhā.

(3) *The Gālava Śākhā* :—According to Sāyaṇa and the Vāyu Purāṇa a Gālava Śākhā belongs to the White Yajurveda. No literature of this Śākhā is available. In the Purāṇas we meet with Gālava several times. But whether this Gālava and the Sākhākāra Gālava are same is not certain.

(4) *The Gaudheya Śākhā* :—In the Samskāra-Gaṇapati this name is mentioned.

(5) *The Puṇḍra-Śākhā* :—According to the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa this Śākhā is different from the Vatsa-Śākhā.

(6) *The Śāpatya Śākhā* :—In the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa this name occurs.

This is the list of the Śākhās of the White Yajurveda. As already remarked,it is possible that various names of this list may be the corrupt forms of the other names of the Śākhās of the Yajurveda. But at present we have no definite data to trace their origin.

सुप्रभातम्

ब्राह्मे मुहूर्त्ते प्रथमं विबुध्येदनुस्मरेद् देववरान् महर्षीन् ।
प्राभातिकं मङ्गलमेव वाच्यं यदुक्तवान् देवपतिस्त्रिनेत्रः ॥ २० ॥

ब्रह्मा मुरारिस्त्रिपुरान्तकारी
भानुः शशी भूमिसुतो बुधश्च ।
गुरुश्च शुक्रः सह भानुजेन
कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ २३ ॥

भृगुर्वशिष्ठः क्रतुरङ्गिराश्च
मुनिः पुलस्त्यः पुलहः सगौतमः ।
रैभ्यो मरीचिश्च्यवनो रिभुश्च
कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ २४ ॥

सनत्कुमारः सनकः सनन्दनः
सनातनोऽप्यासुरिपिङ्गलौ च ।
सप्त स्वराः सप्त रसातलाश्च
कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ २५ ॥

पृथ्वी सगन्धा सरसास्तथापः
सस्पर्शवायुर्ज्वलनः सुतेजाः ।
नभः सशब्दं महता सहैव
यच्छन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ २६ ॥

सप्तार्णवाः सप्त कुलाचलाश्च
सप्तर्षयो द्वीपवराश्च सप्त ।
भूरादयः सप्त तथैव लोकाः
यच्छन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ २७ ॥

इत्थं प्रभाते परमं पवित्रं पठेत्स्मरेद्वा शृणुयाच्च भक्त्या ।
दुःस्वप्ननाशोऽनघ सुप्रभातं भवेच्च सत्यं भगवत्प्रसादात् ॥ २८ ॥

(वामनपु०, वेंकटेश्वर०, अ० १४)

THE KATHĀ LITERATURE AND THE PURĀṆAS

By

LUDWIK STERNBACH

[संस्कृतकथाग्रन्थानां गद्यभागेष्वन्तराऽन्तरा बहवो नीतिश्लोका उपदेशात्मकाः श्लोकाश्च सुभाषितरूपेणोपलभ्यन्ते। पुराणेषु चापि तादृशाः सुभाषितश्लोकाः तत्र तत्र प्राप्यन्ते। कथाग्रन्थेषु मध्ये तावत् क्षेमेन्द्रस्य बृहत्कथामञ्जरी, सोमदेवस्य कथासरित्सागरः, पञ्चतन्त्रं, हितोपदेशः, शुकसप्ततिः, विक्रमचरितं, वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका चेति प्रसिद्धा ग्रन्था वर्त्तन्ते। वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका च षट्सु पाठेषु प्राप्यते, तद्यथा — (१) पद्यात्मिका बृहत्कथामञ्जरीस्था (लम्बक ९, गुच्छ २. १९-१२२१) (२) पद्यात्मिका कथासरित्सागरस्था (लम्बक १२, तरङ्ग ७५-९९), (३) पद्यात्मिका भविष्यपुराणस्था (प्रतिसर्ग-द्वितीयखण्डे), (४) गद्यप्राया जम्भलदत्तकृता, (५) गद्यपद्यात्मिका शिवदासविरचिता (एषा च बृहत्कथामञ्जरीस्थायाः कथाया गद्ये रूपान्तरमात्रम्), (६) गद्यपद्यात्मिका वल्लभदेवविरचिता च (सा च नैतावता कालेन सम्पादिता, शिवदासकृतायाः कथायाश्च साररूपैवेयम्)। जम्भलदत्तस्य वेतालपञ्चविंशतिकायाश्च नेपालीपाठो नेवारीपाठश्चापि विद्यते।

अस्मिन् निबन्धे निबन्धकारमहोदयेन एतावती कथासामग्रीं समीक्ष्य वेतालपञ्चविंशतिकायाः पूर्वोक्तानां सर्वेषामेवोपलब्धपाठानां तुलनात्मिका तालिकाऽपि प्रदत्ता। पुराणेषु कथाग्रन्थेषु च १६२ सुभाषितश्लोकाः समानाः प्रायेण समाना वा वर्त्तन्ते, केषुचित् श्लोकेषु पुनः भावसाम्यमेव विद्यते। अत्र एतादृशानां सर्वेषामेव श्लोकानां तुलनात्मकमेकम् अध्ययनमपि विस्तरेण प्रस्तुतम्। अस्मिन् अध्ययने पुराणस्थानां सुभाषितश्लोकानां पञ्चतन्त्र-हितोपदेश-विक्रमचरित-वेतालपञ्चविंशतिका-शुकसप्ततिकथानां सुभाषितश्लोकैः सह स्थलनिर्देशसहिता तुलना प्रदर्शिता। अध्ययनमिदं निबन्धस्यास्य अनुबन्धरूपेण प्रस्तुतम्। अस्यानुबन्धस्य त्रयो भागा अत्र विद्यन्ते—प्रथमे तादृशा सुभाषितश्लोका वर्त्तन्ते ये एकस्मिन् पुराणे न्यूनतमत्वेन एकस्मिन् कथाग्रन्थे च समानाः विद्यन्ते, द्वितीये तादृशाः श्लोकाः प्रदीयन्ते येषु एकस्मिन् कथाग्रन्थे च भावसाम्यं वर्तते, तृतीये च भागे तादृशाः श्लोकाः प्रस्तुता ये एकस्मिन् कथाग्रन्थे पुराणश्लोकत्वेनोद्धृताः सन्ति परं ते कस्मिन्नपि पुराणग्रन्थे नोपलभ्यन्ते।]

1. The Sanskrit *Kathā* literature is usually written in prose with mingled sententious stanzas, gnomic verses, maxims, aphorisms which are not always demanded even by the narrative; however, they are meant to embellish the tale and often to impress the reader and to conduct or to convey in few words the gist of the moral of the tale told. The tales are purposely constructed as a frame for Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s in which the authors included as many similar sententious stanzas as they knew and thought that the reader of the tales might like. These sententious stanzas in metrical form, gnomic verses, maxims, aphorisms and adages form an integral part of the tale literature. Each of the *kathā* works usually contains different sententious stanzas and even various versions of the same *kathā* work often contain different sententious stanzas. Frequently the same sententious stanzas were included in different *kathā* works; they were either borrowed from another *kathā* work, e. g. the Hitopadeśa from the Pañcatantra, or independently from the same primary source of Sanskrit literature, or from the floating mass of oral tradition and wisdom of the day.

Similarly the Purāṇa-s in which many sententious stanzas are preserved, with the exception of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, which contains in abridged form one of the *kathā* works, viz. the whole Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, contain some sententious stanzas which were probably borrowed independently from the same primary source, or from the floating mass of oral tradition and wisdom, as was the case with *kathā* works. As far as sententious stanzas in the Purāṇa-s are concerned, only the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa is a complete work in itself; it is a collection of maxims, a Subhāṣita-saṁgraha, while the other Purāṇas contain only mingled in the narrative sententious stanzas. The Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa is identical with one text of a Cāṇakya's collection of maxims, viz. the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version.[1]

1. See L. Sternbach, 'The Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra and the Bṛhaspati-Saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa' in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute*, ABORI XXXVII, pp. 58-110 and 'Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in Purāṇas' in *Purāṇa* VI., 1, pp. 113-146.

2. The connection between the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa and one of the important *kathā* works, i. e. the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā is clear, since one of its six versions is found in the Pratisarga, dvitīyakhaṇḍa of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa.

The Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā is known to exist in six versions: in Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara, Jambhaladatta's, Śivadāsa's, Vallabhadeva's and Bhaviṣya-purāṇa's.

Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa mentioned that there existed in the sixth century A. D. a work containing a collection of stories, the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya, written in Paiśācī. It contained *inter alia* the Pañcatantra, the Kathāsaritsāgara, and the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā. This work, as many other literary works in India, was lost; however, parts of it were preserved in two recensions; the Kaśmīrian and the Nepālese. As far as the Kaśmīrian recension is concerned, parts of the Bṛhatkathā were translated, or summarized, by two well-known Kāśmīrian poets; they were Kṣemendra and Somadeva. Both probably worked independently: Kṣemendra made an abridgment of the Bṛhatkathā in his versified Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, while Somadeva, few years later, extracted from the Bṛhatkathā a number of fairy tales and immortalized them in his versified Kathāsaritsāgara.

As far the Nepālese recension is concerned, it was preserved by Buddhasvāmin in his versified Bṛhatkathā-Śloka-saṁgraha; it is incomplete but is more original than the Kaśmīrian recension and, therefore, seems often to be quite another work.

A. The two texts of the Kaśmīrian recension of the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya contain the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā in its earlier form, viz. Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī in the ninth *lambaka* (*guccha* 2. 19-1221) and Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara in the twelfth *lambaka* (*taraṅga-s* 75 to 99). The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī was probably written by Kṣemendra about 1037 A. D. and the Kathāsaritsāgara by Somadeva some thirty years later (between 1063 and 1081 A. D.). Both versions are versified.

B. Another version, almost entirely written in prose, is the Jambhaladatta's version. It contained only nineteen verses, none

of which is found in any Sanskrit literary works; these verses were probably composed by Jambhaladatta himself. The Jambhaladatta's version could not have been written later than the sixteenth century and it is possible that it was written in the fourteenth century.

C. A fourth version is the Śivadāsa's version which was written partly in prose and partly in verse. It contains a large addition of verses, for the greatest part composed in *kāvya* style; these verses are mainly aphorisms, but some of them are also narrative verses. The Śivadāsa version is merely a recast in prose of Kṣemendra's version. One of the MSS of the Śivadāsa version, viz. the Hu[1] MS[2], is dated Saṁvat 1544 (1487 A. D.), therefore this version could not have been composed later than the fifteenth century A.D.

D. A fifth version, the Vallabhadeva's version, which was never edited yet, can be considered as an abridged text of the Śivadāsa version. It is written in prose and in verse and frequently omits some verses though, on the other hand, occasionally offers verses peculiar to it. The Vetāla is called in this version in the Hindī form: *vaitāla.* It begins similarly as the Śivadāsa version; its text is generally poor and ungrammatical and is often mixed with vernacular forms. The last story, the twenty-fourth, contains a new tale, viz. of Solomon and the two women. Undoubtedly, it was composed later than the Śivadāsa version.

E. To these five known versions of the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, a sixth version should be added; it is one which is found in the Pratisarga, dvitīyakhaṇḍa of the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa. The Bhaviṣya-purāṇa is of late date. The Pratisarga-parvan, though nominally mentioned in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa (I. 2, 2-3) is practically a new work; it mentions even the British rule in India and names Calcutta and the Parliament. However, the Nāradīya-purāṇa (I. 100, 10) mentioned that the Pratisaga-parvan, known to it, contained various legends (नानाख्यानसमन्वित). The

2. Die Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā des Śivadāsa nach einer Handschrift von 1487. *Berichte uber die Verhandlugen der konigl. Sachsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Klasse,* 66 Bd., I Heft, 1914.

Pratisarga-parvan contains a number of mythical stories. It is not known when the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā was included in the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa ; it is probably a quite recent abbreviation in verse of the very popular Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā stories.

F. The style and the language of the six versions of the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā are quite different. Kṣemendra's, Somadeva's and Bhaviṣya-purāṇa's versions were written entirely in verse. Jambhaladatta's version was written almost entirely in prose. Śivadāsa's and Vallabahadeva's versions were a combination of prose and verse.

Although the two versified versions, Kṣemendra's and Somadeva's, were older than the Jambhaladatta's and Śivadāsa's versions, the Śivadāsa version preserved probably the original form of the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā ; in this form the main Sanskrit *kathā*-works were generally written. A combination of prose and verse, with verses of mostly didactic nature, occurs in the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Śukasaptati, the Vikramacarita, etc. and that was probably the basic form of all *kathā*-works.

The last sentence of the Hu[1] MS, which belongs to the Śivadāsa version, states clearly that Śivadāsa prepared a text written in prose and in verse from a text written wholly in verse ; therefore we find also in the Śivadāsa version, among the text written in prose, many remains of text written in verse. Śivadāsa probably used as the basis for his text the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra ; this is also evident from the fact that four of the last five stanzas of the Śivadāsa version (viz. 25. 2, 3, 4 and 5) were borrowed verbatim from the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra (9.2, 1217 to 1222).

G. The six versions of the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā contain the same material. The correspondence of the tales included in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa version and in other versions of the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā is given in the following table ; it does not contain the Vallabhadeva version, since this version was never edited before, but two additional texts of the Jambhaladatta version are added, viz. the Nepāli recension of the Jambhaladatta

version, based on one MS and the Newārī recension of the Jambhaladatta version, as described by H. Jorgensen in *ZDMG* 75. 213-36.

भविष्यपुराण	शिवदास	कथा-सरित्सागर	बृहत्कथा-मञ्जरी	जम्भलदत्त	नेपाली	नेवारी
	Introduction	Introduction	Introduction	Introduction	Introduction	Introduction
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	4	4	4	4	4	4
4	3	3	3	3	3	3
(5)	5	5	6	6	6	6
6	6	6	7	8	7	7
7	7	9	9	9	9	9
8	8	7	8	7	8	8
9	9	10	10	10	10	10
10	10	11	11	11	11	11
11	11	12	12		12	
12	12	13	13	12	13	12
13	13	14	14		15	23
14	14	15	15	13	14	13
15	15	16	16	24	24	24
16	16	17	17	14		14
17	17	18	18	15		15
18	18	19	19	16	16	16
19	19	20	20	17	17	17
20	20	21	21	18	18	18
21	21	22	22	19	19	19
	22	23	23	20	20	20
				(21)	(21)	(21)
				(22)	(22)	(22)
				(23)	(23)	(23)
			5	5	5	5
	23	8	24	25	25	25
	Conclusion	Conclusion	Conclusion	Conclusion	Conclusion	Conclusion

H. Since the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa's version of the Vetāla-pañcaviṁśatikā is written in verse, similarly as the Kṣemendra's and Somadeva's versions, we do not find any sententious stanzas in this version, while we find many in the Śivadāsa version; some of the latter occur also in the Purāṇa-s.

3. The primary aim of this study is to show which metrical stanzas in the *kathā*-works occur also in the Purāṇa-s. It is not intended to show in this study, with the exception mentioned above,[3] any particular connection between the Purāṇa-s and the *kathā*-works for the reasons explained,[4] but to list only the identical stanzas (although not always in the exactly the same wording) and the similar stanzas in these two quite different types of sources of Sanskrit literature. But here again an exception must be noted; it refers evidently to the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa, since that Saṁhitā is a Subhāṣita-saṁgraha in itself and whenever so-called Cāṇakya's stanzas were utilized in *kathā*-works (and these stanzas were the main source for the *kāvya* portions of the *kathā*-literature) they also occur in the Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa. Therefore a great number of sententious stanzas identical in one of the *kathā*-works and the Purāṇa-s are found in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa and consequently in the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version of collections of Cāṇakya's maxims.

4. The *kathā*-works dealt with in this study are the Pañcatantra, the Hitopadeśa, the Vikramacarita, the Vetāla-pañcaviṁśatikā and the Śukasaptati. With the exception of the Hitopadeśa, which is known to exist in one version only, and the Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā for which, for reasons of style, only the Śivadāsa version was taken into consideration, different versions of the other *kathā*-works were consulted.

As far as the Pañcatantra is concerned, the following versions were taken into consideration; the Tantrākhyāyika version (PT, PTem, PTu, PT_2)[5], the Southern version (PS, PD, PX)[5],

3. See paragraph 2 above.
4. See paragraph 1 above.
5. See abbreviations in paragraph 6.

the Nepālese version (PN)[5], the *textus ornatior* (PP)[5] and the *textus simplicior* (Pts, PtsK, PM, PPY)[5], branch of the Tantrākhyāyika version, and F. Edgerton's "reconstructed" text of the Pañcatantra (PRE)[5] were consulted.[6]

For the Vikramacarita the Southern, the Metrical, the Brief and the Jainistic recensions (VCsr, VCmr, VCbr, VCjr)[5] were consulted and for the Śukasaptati the *teatus ornatior* (Śto)[5] and the *textus simplicior* (Śts, ŚtsA, ŚtsM)[5] as published by R. Schmidt were consulted.

5. The results of this study are contained in the annex which is divided into three parts. The first contains identical or almost identical stanzaa in a Purāṇa and in at least one text of a *kathā*-work. The second part quotes stanzas which contain similar thoughts in a Purāṇa and in at least one text of a *kathā*-work. The third part contains stanzas which were in a *kathā*-work attributed to a Purāṇa but could not be identified as belonging to a particular Purāṇa text.

On the margin of the annex the appropriate Purāṇa-s and the place in which *kathā's* stanzas occur in the appropriate Purāṇa are mentioned ; then the *pratīka* of the Purāṇa-(or *kathā*-) stanza is quoted ; finally the annex contains up to five references :

(अ) references to the *kathā*-stanza(s) which also occur(s) in the Purāṇa-text ;

(आ) references to primary sources which are the same, with, or similar to (तु०) the Purāṇa-or *kathā*-stanza ;

(इ) references to secondary sources which are the same with, or similar to (तु०) the Purāṇa- or *kathā*-stanza;

(ई) references to sources in "Greater India" in which the Purāṇa- or *kathā*-stanza also occur ; and

(उ) references to studies in which the particular stanza was dealt with.

6. See L. Sternbach, The *kāvya* Portions in the *kathā* Literature ; there the different versions of the Pañcatantra are discussed in greater detail.

6. The analysis of this annex shows that one hundred sixty-two different stanzas of the *kathā*-literature are found in the Purāṇa-s. The distribution of these stanzas are as follows: P(añcatantra) 28 stanzas ; P. and H(itopadeśa) 33 stanzas ; P. and Vet(ālapañcaviṁśatikā) 4 stanzas ; P. and Vi(kramacarita) 2 stanzas ; P and Śuk(asaptati) 3 stanzas ; P., H. and Vet. 2 stanzas ; P., H. and Vi. 4 stanzas ; P., H. and Śuk. 2 stanzas ; P., Vet. and Vi. 1 stanza; P., Vet. and Śuk. 1 stanza ; P. H., Vi. and Vet. 2 stanzas ; P., H., Vi. and Śuk. 3 stanzas ; P., H., Vi., Vet. and Śuk. 2 stanzas ; H. 38 stanzas ; H. and Vi. 2 stanzas ; H. and Vet. 2 stanzas ; H. and Śuk. 1 stanza ; H., Vet. and Śuk. 1 stanza ; Vet. 9 stanzas ; Vet. and Vi. 3 stanzas ; Vi. 3 stanzas ; Vi. and Śuk. 3 stanzas ; and Śuk. 3 stanzas.

The abbreviations used in the Annex are as follows :

ABayA — *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Kl.

ABORI — *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.*.

AKM — *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*

Alk — *Alaṁkārakaustubha of* Viśveśvara Paṇḍit. KM. 66.

Any — *Anyoktimuktāvalī.* KM. 88.

AOS — *American Oriental Society*

AP — *Alaṁkāramuktāvalī* by Parvatīya Śrī Viśveśvara Pāṇḍeya. Kāśi Skt. Series 54.

BhŚ — *Śatakatrayādi-sūbhāṣitasaṃgraha* Bhartṛhari. ed. by D. D. Kosambi, (Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā 23). Bombay 1948.

BORI — Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

BS — *The Budhabhūṣaṇa* of King Sambhu ed. by H. D. Velankar, BORI, 1928.

CKr — O. Kressler, 'Stimmen indicher Lebensklugheit', *Indica* 4, Leipzig, 1907.

CL(=CLr) — Laghucāṇakya version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

CLṢ — CL ; *Śoḍaśa-Cāṇakya*, Bhāvanādāsa-kṛta-Hindī-vyākhyā-sahita, ed. by Śrīdhara Śiva Lāl, Jñāna-Sāgara Press, Bombay, Saṃvat 1932.

CM — *Cāṇıkya,* Recension de cınq recueils de stances morales (Cāṇakya-nītiśataka, Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra, Laghu-cāṇakya-rāja-nītıśāstra, Vṛddha-cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra, Cāṇakya-śloka), par E. Monseur, Paris, 1887.

CN(= CN1) — Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

CNB — CN ; *Bṛhat Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ.* Śrī Arjuna Mahārānaṅka dvāra Utkala Padyanubādita o pıathamabāra prakāśīta...Utkal Press, Calcutta, 1919.

CNG — CN ; 'The Recensıon of Cāṇakya used by Galanos for hıs '*Ἐκδιαφορῶν ποιητῶν*', by G. M. Bollıng in ***Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield,*** New Haven, 1920.

CNHU — CN ; MS H. 250 in Harvard Unıversity Lıbrary, Cambrıdge, Mass.

CNI I — CN ; MS 1518a (Eggelıng 3990) in India Office Lıbrary, London.

CNI II — CN ; MS Keith 7204 (Tagore 40b) in India Office Library, London.

CNL — CN ; MS A. 447 ın Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig.

CNM — CN ; ***Rājanītau Cāṇikyamūni-viracitam,*** no place ; no date.

CNMN — CN ; ***Nītisāra*** Cāṇikyamūni-kṛtam (*sic*!). Allahabad, 1880.

CNN — CN ; E. Bartoli, 'Un secondo codıce fiorentino inedito di Cāṇakya'. (See CLB, first part.)

CNP I — CN ; MS 17072-3 (A) in Université de Paris, Institut de Cıvilısation Indienne.

CNP II — CN ; MS 17072-1 (B) in Université de Paris, Institut de Civılisation Indienne.

CNPh — CN ; MS 1566 in University of Pennsylvania Lıbrary, Philadelphia, Pa.

CNPN	CN ;	MS Sanskrit 684 (Cabaton 684) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
CNŚ	CN ;	*Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, ed. by Śrīrāmaśāstri Bhaṭṭācāryya, Ghose Press, Calcutta, 1319 (1912-3).
CNŚC	CN ;	*Cāṇakya-śloka-saṃgraha*, with a Hindi trans., pub. by Taraprasanna Mrityunjay, 1st ed., Calcutta, 1915.
CNŚK	CN ;	*Cāṇakya-śloka*, with trans. into Bengali. New Sanskrit Press, Calcutta, 1887.
CNŚL	CN ;	*Aṣṭottaraśata-Cāṇakya-ślokaḥ*, ed. by Anil-candra Datta with a Bengali trans., Laksmī Printing Works, Calcutta. 1322 (1915).
CNŚl	CN ;	*Cāṇakya-śloka-saṃgrahaḥ*, compiled and trans. into Hindi by Nārāyaṇacandra Caṭṭopādhyāya, Rudra Printing Press, Calcutta. 1918.
CNŚT	CN ;	*Cāṇkya śatakam*, with a Bengali trans. by Rājakumāra Cakravarttī Svarṇa Press, Dacca-Calcutta, 1319 (1912).
CnT		etc. See below.
CNT IV	CN ;	MS No. 5119, as quoted in CKr as TjD.
CNTC	CN ;	*Sa-ṭīka-Cāṇakya-śloka-śatakam*, ed. by Īśvara-candra Śarmā Śāstri, Calcutta, 1857 (1935).
CNW	CN ;	A. Weber, 'Über 100 Sprüche des Cāṇakya', *Monatsberichte der kön. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1865, pp. 400-31.

CnT Note-book MSS. (Cf. Cr, p. xii.)

CnT I	CnT ;	MS No. 5031, as quoted in CKr as TjA.
CnT II	CnT ;	MS No. 5117, as quoted in CKr as TjB.
CnT III	CnT ;	MS No. 5118, as quoted in CKr as TjC.
CnT V	CnT ;	MS No. 5120, as quoted in CKr as TjE.
CnT VI	CnT ;	MS No. 5121, as quoted in CKr as TjF.
CnT VII	CnT ;	MS No. 5122, as quoted in CKr as TjG.

CPS — *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya*, Cāṇakya-praṇīta, ed. by Pt. Śrī Rāma Śāstri, Calcutta, 1777.

Cr — Cāṇakya-Nīti Text-Tradition (Cāṇakya-Nīti Śākhā-Sampradāya) in two volumes—vol. I, part 1 : the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* (CVr), the Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* (Cvr), the Cāṇakya-nīti śāstra (CNr), and the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha (CSr) versions ; vol. I, part 2 : the Laghu-Cāṇakya (CLr) and the Cāṇakya-rājanīti-śāstra (CSr) versions; vol. II : the Ur-text. Six versions of Cāṇakya's collections of maxims reconstructed and critically edited for the first time, with introductions and variants from original manuscripts, all available printed editions and other materials by Dr. Ludwik Sternbach. Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (Pb., India), 1963. (Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, vols. 27, 28 and 29.)

CR(=CRr) — Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

CRB — CR ; MS Sansk. fo. 15 in Bodleian Library, Oxford.

CRBh I — CR ; MS 347 of 1892-5 in BORI Collection.

CRBh II — CR ; MS 348 of 1892-5 in BORI Collection.

CRC — CR ; *Cāṇakya-rājanīti-Śāstram*, ed. by Pt. Īśvara Chandra Sastri, Calcutta, 1919. (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 2.)

CRCa I — CR ; MS Add. 2525 in University Library, Cambridge.

CRCa II — CR ; MS Add. 1040 in University Library, Cambridge.

CRP — CR ; MS 1559 in Library of Pennsylvania University, Philadephia, Pa.

CRT — CR ; 'Cāṇakyarājanītiśāstram', ed. by Sunitikumar Pathak, Tibetan and Sanskrit, *Viśva-Bharati Annals*, vol. 8, Santiniketan, 1958.

CS(=CSr) — Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha-version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

CV(=CVr) — Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version reconstructed, (See Cr.)

Cv(=Cvr) — Vṛddha Cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* version, reconstructed. (See Cr.)

CvA — Cv ; *Rāja-nīti*, Cāṇakya-muni-viracita, Agra, 1920.

CvH — Cv ; MS H. 250 in Harvard University Library Cambridge, Mass.

CvI — Cv ; MS 2411 in India Office Library, London.

CvL I — Cv ; MS A. 445 in Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig.

CvL II — Cv ; MS A. 446 in Universitätsbibliothek, Karl-Marx Universität, Leipzig.

CvṢ — Cv ; *Ṣoḍaśa-Cāṇakya*. See CLṢ.

CvTb — Cv ; MS or. fo. 1037 in Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen.

Daṁp — *Daṁpatīśikṣānāmaka*. Śrī Nīlaratnaśarmakartṛka, 1840.

DhN(P) — The Dhammanīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmes Sources; or The Nīti Literature of Burma* by J. Gray, London, Trübner & Co., 1886. (Pāli)

GVS — L. Sternbach, *Gaṇikā-vṛtta-saṁgrahaḥ, or Texts on Courtezans in Classical Sanskrit.* Vishveshvaranand Indological Series, 4, Hoshiarpur, 1953.

H — *Hitopadeśa*. Also See American Oriental Series, 44. Annex I.

HC — *Hitopadeśa*, or salutary instruction in the original Sanskrit, ed. by H. T. Colebrooke, Serampore, 1804.

HH — *The Hitopadeśa in the Sanskrit language*, Library, East-India House, London, 1810.

HJ	*Hitopadeśa,* the Sanskrit text with a grammatical analysis alphabetically arranged by F. Johnson, 2nd ed., Hartford-London, 1864.
HK	*The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa,* ed. with a Sanskrit commentary and notes in English by M. R. Kale, 5th ed., Bombay, 1924.
HM	*The First Book of the Hitopadeśa* and *The Second, Third and Fourth Books of the Hitopadeśa,* Sanskrit text, ed. by Max Müller, London, 1865.
HN	Nārāyaṇa, *Hitopadeśa,* nach der nepalischen Handschrift N neu herausgegeben von Heinrich Blatt, Berlin, 1930.
HOS	Harvard Oriental Series, Cambridge, Mass.
HP	*Hitopadeśa,* by Nārāyaṇa, ed. by Peter Peterson, BSS 33, Bombay, 1887.
HS	*Hitopadeśas,* id est *Institutio Salutaris.* Textum codd. mss. collatis recensuerunt, interpretationem latinam et annotationes criticas adiecerunt Augustus Guilelmus a Schlegel et Christianus Lassen. Pars. I: textum sanscritum tenens, 1829. Pars II: commentarium criticum tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1831, typis regiis. Prostat apud Eduardum, Weber, bibliopolam Bonnensem.
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal,* 's-Gravenhage.
IS	*Indische Spruche,* Sanskrit und Deutsch herausgegeben von O. Böhtlingk. Zweite vermehrte u. verbesserte Ausgabe, I-III, St. Petersburg, 1870-3.
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JS	*The Sūktimuktāvalī* of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa, ed. by Embar Krishnamacharya, GOS 82, 1938. *Also* MS BORI 1424 of 1887-91, an anonymous Jaina *Subhāṣitāvalī,* dated Saṁvat 1673, as quoted in BhŚ.

JSAIL — L. Sternbach, *Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law.*
22. *The Hitopadeśa and the Smṛtis. History of the Young Wife and the Old Husband.* In P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume Poona, 1960, pp. 396-425.
24. *Cāṇakya's Aphorisms in the Hitopadeśa* (I-IV). AOS Reprint Series, 28.
30. *Mahābhārat Verses in Cāṇakya's Compendia.* In JAOS 83. 30-67.

KM — Kāvyamālā, published by NSP, Bombay.

KSG — *Kāvyasaṁgrahaḥ*, Pañcasaptati-saṁskṛta-kāvyātmakaḥ ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, 3rd ed., Calcutta, Sarasvatī Press, 1888.

KSH — *Kāvyasaṁgraha*, A Sanskrit anthology, being a collection of the best smaller poems in the Sanskrit language, by Dr. J. Haeberlin, Calcutta, 1847.

Kt — *Kathārṇava*, as quoted in IS.

LN(P) — The Lokanīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources.* See DhN(P). Also in JASB 47, part I, Calcutta, 1878, pp. 239 sqq.

MK — *The Mādhavānala-kathā*, ed. by P. E. Pavolini, IX Congress of Orientalists, London, I, pp. 430-56. *Also* published by H. Schöhl, Halle c.d. S. 1914.

NKy(B) — *Nīti Kyan*, 'Translation of Burmese version of the Nīti Kyan, a Code of Ethics in Pāli' (Burmese), JRAS 17, 1860, pp. 252 sqq.

NM(T) — 'Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa, Tibetan and Sanskrit', ed. by Sunitikumar Pathak, *Viśva Bharati Annals*, vol.10, Santiniketan, 1961 (Tibetan)

NŚ(OJ) — *Nītiśāstra: Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling*, ed. by R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjarka, Bibliotheca Javanica 4, Bandoeng, 1933, (Old Javanese).

P (or Pañc)	*Pañcatantra.*
Pad	*Padyaracanā* of Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Aṅkolakara, KM 89.
PD	'The Pañcatantra of Durgasiṁha', by A. Venkatasubbiah, *Zeitschrift für Indologie u. Iranistik,* 6. 255 sqq.
PM	'Eine vierte Jaina-Recension des Pañcatantra', (Meghavijaya) von J. Hertel, ZDMG 57, pp. 639 sqq.
PN	*Pañcatantra,* Nepali text, as quoted in PRE I, pp. 192-258 and PT I, pp. 117-35; PS, pp. 100-26.
PP	*The Pañcatantra,* in the recension called *Pañcākhyānaka* of the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra, ed. by J Hertel, HOS 11-2, 1908-12.
PPY	*Yaśodhara's Pañcākhyāna.* MSs 424 of 1879-80 and 289 of 1882-3. Deccan College, Poona.
Pras	*Prasaṅgābharaṇam,* of Śrīmatkavikulatilaka, Gopal Narayan and Co., Bombay, (no date).
PRE	*The Pañcatantra,* I-V, the text in its oldest form, ed. by F Edgerton, Poona, 1930. Also: *The Pañchatantra Reconstructed,* by F. Edgerton, 2 vols, AOS 2-3, 1924.
PS	'Das südliche Pañcatantra: Sanskrit text der Recension β mit den Lesarten der besten HSS. der Recension α', herausg. von J. Hertel, *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss,* XXIV 5. Leipzig. 1906.
PT PTem	'Uber das Tantrākhyāyika, die Kaśmirische Rezension des Pañcatantra mit dem Texte der HS. Decc. Coll. VIII. 145', herausg. von. J. Hertel, *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kön., sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.,* XXII. 5, Leipzig, 1904. Also *The Pañcatantra,* (PTem) the

Kashmirian Recension entitled *Tantrākhyāyika* (*editio minor*) by J. Hertel, HOS 14, 1915. Also *Tantrākhyāyika*, die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von J. Hertel, I-II, Leipzig u. Berlin, 1909.

Pts — *Pañcatantra* (*textus simplicior*), ed. with notes by F. Kielhorn (I) and G. Bühler (II-V), BSS 1, 3, and 4, 1891-6.

PtsK — *Pantschatantrum*, sive quinquepartitum de moribus exponens. Edidit Io Godofr. Ludov. Kosegarten, Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1848.

PTu — *Tantropākhyānam*, ed by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. Trivandrum Skt. Ser. 132.

PT_2 — J. Hertel, *Eine zweite Recension des Tantrākhyāyika*. ZDMG 59. 1-30.

PX — J. Hertel, *Über einen südlichen textus amplior des Pañcatantra*, ZDMG 60. 769-781 and 61. 18-72.

RA — *Rasaratnapradīpikā* of Allarāja, Ed. by R. N. Dandekar. Bhāratīya Vidyā Series, 8.

RJ — *Rasikajīvana* of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa, Calcutta, 1944.

RN(P) — The Rājanīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources*. See DhN(P).

Ru — W. Ruben, *Das Pañcatantra und seine Morallehre*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung Nr. 44. Akademie Verlag, Berlin, 1959.

Sar — *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* in Aufrecht's *Auswahl von unedirten Strophen verschiedener Dichter*, ZDMG 25. Also KM 94.

ShD(T) — *She-rab Dong-bu or Prajnya Danda* by Li-Thub (Nāgārjuna), ed. and trans. by W. L. Campbell, Calcutta, 1919 (Tibetan).

ŚKDr	*Śabdakalpadruma*, I-V, 1821-44.
Skm	*Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, Punjab Or. Ser. 15, Lahore, 1933.
SkV	*Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* by Vidyākara, ed. by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale, HOS 42, 1957.
Ślt(OJ)	*Ślokāntara*, an old Javanese didactic text, ed. by Sharada Rani, Dvīpāntarapiṭaka, Śatapiṭaka Series 2, International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi, 1957.
SN(P)	The Suttavaḍḍhananīti in *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources*. See DhN(P).
ŚP	*The Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara*, a Sanskrit anthology, ed. by Peter Peterson, vol. I, BSS 37, 1888.
SR	*Subhaṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāram*, enlarged 8th ed., NSP, Bombay, 1952.
SRHt	*Sūktiratnahāra* of Sūrya, ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series 141, Trivandrum, 1938.
SRK	*Subhāṣitaratnākara*, a collection of witty and epigrammatic sayings in Sanskrit, compiled and ed. by Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī Bhāṭavaḍekar, Bombay, 1872.
SRN(T)	'Sa-skya legs-bcad. Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi', W. L. Campbell, *Ost-Asiatische Zeitung*, Neue Folge 2 of 1925, pp. 31-63, 159-185, (Tibetan and Mongolian).
Sskṛ	*Saṃskṛta-pāṭhopakāraka*, Calcutta, Śaka 1761, as quoted in IS.
SS(OJ)	*Sārasamuccaya* in Śatapiṭaka Series 24, ed. by Dr. Raghu Vira, New Delhi, 1962, (Old Javanese).
Śto	'Der Textus ornatior der Śukasaptati', von Richard Schmidt, ABayA 21, Abth. 2, 1898-9.

Śts — 'Die Śukasaptati, textus simplicior', von Richard Schmidt, AKM 10.1, Leipzig, 1893.

ŚtsA — *Der textus simplicior der Śukasaptati in der Recension der Handschrift A*, ed. by R. Schmidt. ZDMG 24. 515-547 and 55. 1-44.

ŚtsM — *Die Marāṭhī Übersetzung der Śukasaptati: Marāṭhī und Deutsch*, Leipzig, 1897, AKM X. 4.

ŚtsP, ŚtsPet — Śts; Petersburg MS (Asiatic Museum, No. 74) partly published in Ch. Lassen's *Anthologia Sanscritica*. 2nd ed. Bonnæ ad Rhenum, 1868, pp. 32-38.

SuB — *Śrīsūktāvali*, Codice Indiano, edito dal Dre. E. E. Bartoli, Napoli, 1911.

Subh — *Subhāṣitārṇava*, as quoted in IS.

Śuk — *Śukasaptati*

SuM — *Subhāṣitamuktāvalī*, ed. by R. N. Dandekar, University of Poona, 1962.

TK(OJ) — *Tantri-Kāmandaka*, Een Oudjavaansche Pañja-tantra-Bewerking, door Dr. C. Hooykaas, Bibliotheca Javanica 2, Bandoeng, 1931, (Old Javanese).

TP — M. W. Carr, *A Collection of Telugu Proverbs* translated, illustrated and explained together with some Sanskrit Proverbs printed in Devanāgarī and Telugu characters, Madras, 1868.

Vyās(C) — Vyāsakāraya' in *Sanskrittexte aus Ceylon* herausg. von Heinz Bechert, I Teil, *Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Beiheft D. München, 1962.

VC(VCsr, VCmr, VCbr, VCjr) — *Vikrama's Adventures*, or *The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne*, in four recensions: Southern (VCar.) Metrical (VCmr.), Brief (VCbr.), Jainistic (VCjr.), ed. by Franklin Edgerton, 2 vols., HOS 26, and 27, 1926.

Vet 'Die Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā in den Recensionen des Śivadāsa...', ed. by Heinrich Uhle, AKM 8.1. Also see footnote 2 above.

VP '*Padyataraṅgiṇī* of Vrajanātha,' Pratīka-s from the study of N. A. Gore, in Poona Orientalist, Vol. II, pp. 45-56.

VS The *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva, Ed. by P. Peterson, BSS 31.

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

अ. कौ. = Alk
अन्यो. = Any
अ. मु. = Ap
कवि. = Kt
दम्प. = Damp.
चा. नी. = CN
चा. नी. द. = CV
चा. नी. शा. = CN
चा. रा. = CR
चा. सा. = C
ज. सू. = JS
प. = P
प. त. = VP
प. ल. = Pad
प्र. = Pras
बु. = BS
भर्तृ. = BhS'
माघ. = MK
र. = RJ
र. प्र. = RA
ल. चा. = CL
वि. = VC
वृ चा. = Cv
वेताल. = Vet
शब्द. = S'KDr
शा. प. = S'P
शु. = S'uk.
संस्कृ = Sskṛ
सदु. = Skm
सर. = Sar
सु. = Subh
सु. र. = SRK
सु. र. को. = SkV
सु. र. भा. = SR
सु. व. = VS
सु. सू. = SuM
सू. = SRHt
सूक्त. = SuB
हि. = H

ANNEX

Stanzas identical in a Purāṇa and Kathā-text

अग्नि-पुराण

२५५.३५ आदित्यचन्द्राव्

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I. 141 & 395, Pts I 18. & 405, PtsK I 198 & 453, PD 309.133); हितोपदेश II. 111; (तु° विक्रमचरित [VCsr 25.1 (p. 327a), II]

(आ) महाभारत १.७४.२८ (तु° मानव-धर्मशास्त्र ८ ८६, नारद १.२७७-९).

(इ) सु.र.भा १७४.८८६, सर° ८८४. १४०, IS 930.

गरुड-पुराण

१ १०८.१८ उपायेन हि यच्छ०

(अ) वेताल° १.१०६ (११.४)° (तु° पञ्चतन्त्र [PD 302.16]).

(आ) चा.नी.शा. (CNW 100).

(इ) र°प्र. ५.२३, IS 1306.

(उ) JSAIL 24.143-4.

१.१०८.२२ यस्य भार्या विरूपाक्षी

(अ) शुकसप्तति (Śto 52.1).

(आ) चा.रा. १.३५, चा नी.द २.८१, वृ.चा. ७.३. चा.नी. (CNI I 170, CNG 17, CnP II 16.6, CnT III 7 b 2, CnT V 56, CnT VII 151), CPS 8.22. (तु° वृ.चा. ७ ४, चा.सा. २.८२, चा.रा. १.३९).

(इ) सु.र.भा. ३५१.१, सु.र. ११७.१, IS. 5445.

		(ई) TK(OJ)13, NS'(OJ) 5.5.
१.१०८.२५	दुष्टा भार्या शठं मि०	(अ) हितोपदेश II 120. (आ) चा.रा. १.४०, चा.नी.द. १.५, वृ.चा. १.५, चा.नी. ४१. (CnT II 1.6, CnT III 1.6, CnT VI 6, CnT V 5), CPS 19.50. (इ) सु.र.भा. १५५.१११, सू १९२.५८, सु.र. २२३.२१, प.त. ९.५, IS 2891.
१.१०८.२६	त्यज दुर्जनसंसर्गं भ०	(अ) हितोपदेश III. 24 (चैव HS *ad* p. 85, line 11). (आ) चा.रा. २.११, चा.नी.द. १४.२०, वृ.चा. ६.१७, चा.सा. १.१००, चा.नी. "B", (CnT II 9.4, CnT III 6.12, CnT VI 102, CnT V 42, CnT I 24), CPS 294.13, भर्तृ. ५२९. (इ) शा.प. ७३४, IS 2621. (ई) TK(OJ) 43, LN(P) 42, DhN(P) 408, NKy(B) 59, Vyās(C) 64. (उ) JSAIL 24.55.
१.१०९.१	आपदर्थे धनं रक्षेद्	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts. I. 356 & III. 86), हितोपदेश २.४३, विक्रमचरित (VCsr 12.1, VCjr 26.1), शुकसप्तति (S'to 321. 12-3), वेताल° १९.१६, मध. १०६. (आ) चा. रा. २.१, चा. नी. द. १.६, वृ. चा. १.६, चा. नी. २७, महाभारत १.१६०, २७ च ५.३७.१८, मानवधर्मशास्त्र ७.२१३ (तु° प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि ४३).

		(इ) सु.र.भा १६१.३४८, वीरमित्रोदय, राजनीति ४१३.२-३, राजनीति-रत्नाकर ३१.१६-७, IS 958.
		(ई) NM(T) 3.5.
		(उ) Cf. JSAIL 24. 23-4; 27. 248-50; 30. 56.
१.१०९.४	चलत्येकेन पादेन	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I. 77), हितोपदेश १.१०७.
		(आ) चा.रा. २.६, वृ.चा. १.८, चा.नी. ३० (CnT II. 1, CnT III. 1. 13, CnT VI 14), CPS 41.44.
		(इ) शा.प. १४६३, सु.र. भा १५४.३५, IS 2264.
		(ई) LN(P)159, DhN(P) 83, NKy(B) 182.
		(उ) Cf. JSAIL 24.44.
१.१०६.८	आपत्सु मित्रं जानीयात्	(अ) हितोपदेश १.७४.
		(आ) चा.रा. २.१४, CPS २१.५७.
		(इ) सु.व. २७९३, सू. १९०.३५ च २३७.१२, सु.र.भा. १६३,४४५, शब्द-भार्या, IS 954.
		(उ) Cf. JSAIL 24.98.
१.१०९.९	वृक्षं क्षीणफलं त्यजन्ति	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PtsK II. 102).
		(आ) चा.रा. २.१५, चा.नी. (CNP II 23), CPS 31.19, भर्तृ. ७५३, सप्तरत्न ४, वानर्यष्टक ८.
		(इ) शा.प. १५४३, सु.र.भा. १७८.१०१३, सूक्ति १४.२, सु. १५६, IS 6246.

१.१०९.१०	लुब्धमर्थप्रदानेन	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PS I. 26), हितोपदेश ४.१०८.
		(आ) चा.रा. २.१६, चा.नी.द्. ६.११, वृ.चा. ६.१, चा.नी. ३१ (CnT II 8.5, CnT III 6.1, CnT VI 91), CPS 172. 105.
		(इ) सु.र.भा. २५५.,९७ IS 5860.
		(ई) LN(P) 78, DhN(P) 98, NKy(B)108, NM(T) 3.7.
१.१०९,१२	उत्तमं प्रणिपातेन	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP 4. 61, Pts 4.109 & 114, PtsK 4.74 & 80, PM 4. 68 ; [cf. PD 302. 37, PS 1. 26]).
		(आ) चा.रा. २.१८, वृ.चा. ७,७, चा.सा. २.६, चा.नी. (CNP I 6, CNG 24, CNI I 256, CNT IV 5, CNM 5, CNMN 5. CnT II 7. 3, CnT III 7 b 11), CPS 38. 35. (तु०चा.रा. २.१६, चा.नी द्. ६.११, वृ.चा.६.२, चा.नी.३१, महाभारत ३.१६४.७ च १.१८२,४८-६; भर्तृ. ६५३, नवरत्न १).
		(इ) सु.र.भा. १५८,२४६,IS 1174.
१.१०९,१३	यस्य यस्य हि यो भावत्	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 28, PTem I. 25, PS I. 25, PN II. 22, PP I. 53, Pts I. 63, PtsK I. 78, PRE I. 29, PD 299. 1), हितोपदेश II, 51 (तु० कथासरित्सागर १०.६०,३६).

(आ) चा.रा. २.१९, वृ.चा. ६.३, चा.नी. (CNPh 10, CNI I 255, CNG 25, CNI II 50, CnT II 8. 7, CnT III 6.3, Cn Γ VI 93, Cn Γ V 71), CPS 34. 27.

(इ) सु. र. भा. १६३. ४७८, सू. १४७, ३७, सु. सू. २३.३५. प.त. ६.६, IS 5393.

(उ) Ru 27, JSAIL 24.42.

१.१-९.२४ नदीनां च नखिनां च (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I. 52, PM I. 41,PTu I 45), हितोपदेश १.१८,विक्रमचरित(VCsr VII. 8, VCjr VII. 1), शुकसप्तति (Śts 20.9-10).

(आ) चा.रा.२.२१. चा.नी.द. १.१५, वृ.चा. १.१६, चा.सा. ३.४८, चा.नी. २५ (CnT II 2. 5, CnT III 1. 17, CnT VI 18), CPS 23.61.

(इ) सु.र.भा. १५४.७९, सुक्त.B २३. ४८, सू. १३५.१८ च १९५.९५, सर.३३.४८, उज्ज्वल, उणादिसूत्र ४.१३३, प.त ९.३, IS 3214.

(ई) TK (OJ) 16 & 76, NS (OJ) 13. 2, Ślt (OJ) 23, DhN (P)239, SN (P)52, NM (T) 5. 9.

(उ) JSAIL 24. 72.

१.१०९.२५ अर्थनाशं मनस्तपं (अ) हितोपदेश १.१३८, वेताल १.२६ (तु॰ Intr 95 [6. v. 11], N, PX I. 26), शुकसप्तति (Śts 40. 10-1 & 63. 7-8), मघ० ८२.

(आ) चा.रा. २.२२, चा.नी.द. ७.१, बृ.चा. ५.११, चा.नी. ३२ (CnT II, 7. 11, CnT III 5. 11, CnT VI 85, CnT V 22), CPS 179. 11.

(इ) शा.प. १४५८, सु.र.भा. १५३. २८, सू १९१.४८, बु. २.६१८, IS 583.

(ई) LN(P) 28, DhN(P) 52.

(उ) JAOS 55. 75, JSAIL 24. 130.

१.१०८. १८ कोऽर्थान्प्राप्य न गर्वितो (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I 90, PTem I. 82, PS I. 79, PN II. 58, PP I. 109, Pts I.146, PtsK I. 162, PRE 1. 89), हितोपदेश २.१५२, विक्रमचरित (VCsr VI.15), शुकसप्तति (Śts 22.31) (तु° कथासरित्सागर १०.६०, १३९).

(आ) चा.रा. २.२४, चा.नी.द. १६.४, CPS 237.16, षड्रत्न २.

(इ) शा.प. १५३४, सु.व. ३४७०, सु.र.भा. १७८.१०११, सदु. ५. ३६, २, सु.सु. १०.३१, सु. ६९, IS 1942.

(उ) Ru 57, JSAIL 24. 18.

१.१०९. २० यस्मिन्देशे न सम्मानं (अ) हितोपदेश १.१०८, शुकसप्तति (Śto 4.1).

(आ) चा.रा. २.२६, चा.नी.द. १.८, वृ.चा. १.९, चा.नी. ३५ (CnT II 1.8, CnT III 1.8, CnT

VI 8, CnT V 7), CPS 20 53.

(इ) सु.र.भा. १५५.८८, सु.र. २२४. ३०, शब्द-परिवर्जितं, संस्कृ. ५४, IS 5352.

(ई) LN(P) 114 (& 158), DhN(P) 79, NKy(B) 142, SRN(T)342.

(उ) JSAIL 24.13.

१.१०९. २८ अतिक्लेशेन येऽप्यर्था

(अ) शुकसप्तति (Ŝto 35.1) Ŝts 22. 1, Sts Pet MS 32b).

(आ) चा.रा. २.३७, चा.नी.द. १६.११, चा. नी. (CNG 181, CNT IV 198), CPS 310.10, महाभारत ५.३८, ७६-७७.

(इ) सु.र.भा. ३७९.९६, IS 128.

(ई) SS (OJ) 272.

१.१०९. ३२ जानीयात्प्रेषणे भृत्यान्

(अ) वेताल° ४.७.

(आ) चा.रा. २.४०, चा.नी.द. १.११, वृ.चा १.१२, चा.सा. १.७२, चा.नी. १९ (CnT II 2.2, CnT III 1.14, CnT VI 15), CPS 21.56.

(इ) सु.र.भा. १५५.९८, सू. १९१. ४९, सु. ९१, सु. सू. २३.४८, IS 2405.

(ई) LN(P) 82, DhN (P) 252, NKy(B) 112.

१.१०९.३३ स्त्रीणां (आहारो) द्विगुण आहारः

(अ) हितोपदेश २.११८ च ४.८.

(आ) चा.रा. २.४१, चा.नी.द. १.१७, वृ.चा. १.१८, चा. नी. ७६ (CnT II 2.8, CnT III

1.20, CnT VI 21), CPS 23.63, पञ्चरात्र १.१४,९६. (तु° १.१४.११२, ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण शब्द—नारी).

(इ) सु.र.भा. १६२.४०९ (तु° ३४८.६), सु.र.११५.४, TP 59), IS 1082 (तु° 7204).

(ई) LN (P) 161, DhN (P) 164, NKy (B) 206, ShD (T) 182, NŚ (OJ) 13.8.

(उ) JSAIL 24.68-9.

१.१०९.३७ सुवेशं (सुरूपं) पुरुषं दृष्ट्वा

(अ) हितोपदेश (HS 1.110, HH 24.18-9, HC 33.10-1, HK 1.116, HP 1.87). (तु° वेताल° ३.९, विक्रमचरित VCsr II. 13 [p. 259 b]).

(आ) चा.रा. २.४५ (तु° चा.नी. [CNI I 159, CnT II 23.9, CnT III 57.3], नीलक. महाभारत, Calcutta ed. ३.११०७८, पञ्चरात्र १.१४,७७).

(इ) IS 7135 (तु° सु.र.भा. ३४९.४०).

(उ) JSAIL 24.80; 22.24.

१.१०९.३८ नद्यश्च नार्यश्च सम०

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PtsK I. 227).

(आ) चा. रा. २.४६ (तु° २.४७), CPS 42.46.

(इ) IS 3309.

(ई) LN (P) 104, NKy (B) 130.

१.१०९.४०	नाग्निस्तृप्यति काष्ठानां	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I. 106, Pts I. 137, PtsK I. 153), हितोपदेश २.११४, विक्रमचरित (VCsr VI 10), माघ. १५६.
		(आ) चा.रा. २.४८, वृ. चा. ७.८, चा.नी. (CNF 41, CNI I 172, CNT IV 12, CNP I 13, CNMN 12, CNM 12), CPS 377.12, महाभारत ५.३९,७ च १३.३८, २५, पञ्चरात्र १.१४, ९१, भर्तृ. ५७१.
		(इ) शा.प. १४६८, सु.र.भा. १५४.६०, सू. ७८.७, सु. २१८, प. त. ९.८९, IS 3547.
		(ई) SS (OJ) 437.
		(उ) JSAIL 24.78 ; 30.67.
१.१०६.४५	न दानेन न मानेन	(अ) हितोपदेश २.११५.
		(आ) चा. रा. १.४१, CPS 9. 26.
		(इ) सु. व. २७७३, सु. र. भा. ३४६.३६, IS 3283.
		(उ) JSAIL 24. 73.
१.१०६.५०	ये बालभावे न पठन्ति	(अ) वेताल° २१.१३, विक्रमचरित (VCsr 9.1).
		(आ) (तु° चा. रा. २.५७, CPS 45.54).
		(इ) सु. व. ३४३६, सु. १०१, IS 5550.
१.१०६.५३	अनुक्तमप्यूहति पण्डितो (उदीरितोऽर्थः प°)	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 16, PTem I. 13, PS I, 19, PN II 14 & III. 6, PP I. 20,

Pts I. 43, PtsK I. 49, PRE I. 18, PD 300.9, PM I 21), हितोपदेश २.४६, विक्रमचरित (VCjr 22.5, 1 [p. 312]), वेताल° १.७, शुकसप्तति(S'to 19.1, S'ts 11.3).

(आ) चा. रा. २.६०, चा. नी. (CNP II 30, CNI I 16), CPS 46.57, भर्तृ. ४२७.

(इ) शा. प. २००, सु. र. भा. १७४, ९११, सु.र. ३३.९, सू. ३७.३६, सु. सू. ६.१५, प. त. ३.३, IS 1236.

(ई) Ru २२, JSAIL 24.40.

१.११०.१ यो ध्रुवाणि परित्य°

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP II. 143, Pts II. 137, PtsK II 144, PD 302. 41, PM II 55), हितोपदेश १.२२७.

(आ) चा. रा. ३.१, चा. नी. द. १.१३, वृ. चा. १.१४, चा. नी. ६१, (CnT II 2. 4, CnT III 1. 16, CnT VI 17), CPS 22. 59, रघुनन्दन, स्मृतितत्त्व १.३५१, २४-५.

(इ) सु. र. भा. १६२. ३९४, सू. १६४.८०, सु. २१८, शब्द—नीतिसार, IS 5600.

१.११०.४ अग्निहोत्रफला वेदाः

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP II 150, Pts II 147, PtsK II 154). (तु° विक्रमचरित [VCsr 11.2, VCm 5. 60-1, VCjr 5. 5]).

(आ) चा. रा. ३.४, बृ. चा. ८.४, चा. सा. ३.८८, चा.नी. (CNP II. 9, CNG 54, (तु° ३११) CNF 106, CNPh 19, CNI II 78, CLṢ 3. 2), CPS 58. 2, महाभारत २.५.११२ च. ५.३८, ६६-६७.

(इ) सु. र. भा. १६५. ५३६, सु. व. ३४२८, सू. २३७. २१, IS 71.

(ऊ) NS' (OJ) 1. 14, TK (OJ) 17.

१.११०.५ वरयेत् कुलजां प्राज्ञो

(अ) वेताल° ७.४.

(आ) चा. रा.३.५, चा.नी.द.१.१४, बृ. चा.१.१५, चा.सा.२.६१, चा.नी. (CNPh 20, CNI I 154, CNG 165, CnT II 2.6, च 25.6, CnT III I. 18, CnT V 19, CnT VII 12), CPS 22. 60.

(इ) IS 5982.

(ई) TK (OJ) 30.

१.११०.११ स्थानेष्वेव प्रयोक्तव्या

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 35, PTem I. 31, PS I. 34, PP I. 60, Pts I.72, PtsK I. 82, PRE I. 35, PM I. 46), हितोपदेश २.७० (तु० HS ४.११).

(आ) चा.रा. ३.१०, चा.नी. (CNG 56), CPS 59.24.

(इ) सु.व.२८४४, सु.र.भा. १६४. ४८०, प.त. ९.८, IS 7221.

(उ) Ru 29, JSAIL 24. 117.

१.११०.१३ कुसुमस्तवकस्येव

(अ) हितोपदेश १.१४२.

(आ) चा.रा.३.१२, CPS 59.26, भर्तृ॰ ३४.

(इ) शा.प.२६४, सु.व.२०१ च. ५०६, सु.र.भा.७६.४.सु.र.४८.९, सू १२६.२, सु.र.को.१२२१, र. १४३१, ज.सू.५६.२, सु.३०८, IS 1845.

(ई) ShD (T) 26.

(उ) JSAIL 24.37.

१.११०.१४ कर्णभूषणसंग्रहोचितो

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 36, PTem I. 32, PS I. 35, PN II. 26, PP I. 63, Pts I. 75, PtsK I. 85, PRE I. 36) हितोपदेश २.७१.

(आ) चा.रा.३.४६.

(इ) सु.व.८९८, सदु. ४.१६.१, सु.र. को.१६७२, सु.र.भा. १७५.९३९, सू.३१.३२, सु.र.२४०.९१, अन्यो.८९.३६, IS 1526.

(उ) Ru 29, JSAIL 24. 118.

१.११०.१५ वाजिवारणलोहानां

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 40, PTem I.36, PP I. 328, PRE I. 41, PM I. 135), हितोपदेश २.३८, वेताल॰ ३.७, विक्रमचरित (VCsr 26.4), शुकसप्तति (S'ts 59.13), माघ॰ १२१.

(आ) चा.रा.३.१३, वृ.चा.८.८, चा. नी.(CNG 57, CNI I. 222, CNHU 18, CNT IV

246, CnT V 45), CPS 74. 59, पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड १८.६२.

(इ) सु.र.भा. १६३.४७४, सु. २०७, IS 6029.

(उ) Ru 32, JSAIL 24.135.

१.११०.१६ कदर्थितस्यापि हि

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 31, PTem I. 28, PS I. 32, PN II. 24, PRE I. 31), हितोपदेश २.६७.

(आ) चा.रा. ३.३९, भर्तृ. २२६.

(इ) शा.प. २२७, सु.व. ३१६ च ५२८ सु.र.भा. ७७.८, सु.र. ५१.४, सू. १२६.७, IS 1519.

(उ) Ru 28, JSAIL 24.125.

१.११०.१९ सकृद्दुष्टं च यो मित्रं

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 29, PTem II. 29, PS II. 19, PN I. 17, PP II. 27 च IV. 13, Pts II. 32 च IV 14, PtsK II 33 च IV 13, PRE II 19), हितोपदेश २.१४७.

(आ) चा.रा. ३.१५, चा.नी. १७, CPS 62.33, महाभारत १. १४२, ८२ (अ, आ) च १२.१४०, ३० (इ, ई).

(इ) सु.व. २७-५७, सु.र.भा. १६१. ३४५, सू. १५५.३, IS 6656.

(ई) LN(P) 85, NKy(B) 110[2], NM(T) 6.12.

(उ) Ru 95, JSAIL 24.104.

१.११०.२१	उपकारगृहीतेन (शत्रुमुत्पाटयेत्प्रा°)	(अ)	(तु° पञ्चतन्त्र [PP IV 16, Pts IV 18, PtsK IV 19, PM IV 13]).
		(आ)	(तु° चा.रा. ३.१६, चा.सा.२.९, चा.नी. २० [CNT IV 13], CPS 369.50).
		(इ)	(तु° शा.प. १३०३, सु.र.भा. १४९.३१४, सु. सू. २३.३१, IS 6374).
१.११०.२६	धनिकः श्रोत्रियो राजा	(अ)	हितोपदेश १.११०.
		(आ)	चा.रा. "B", चा.नी.द. १.९, वृ.चा. १.१०, चा.नी. ३४, (CnT II 1.9, CnT III 1.9, CnT VI 9, CnT V 10). (तु° चा.रा. ३.२२, CPS 20.55.
		(इ)	शा.प. १४६५, सु.र.भा. १५३.३४, IS 3861.
		(ई)	LN(P) 113, DhN(P) 78, NKy(B) 141.
		(उ)	JSAIL 24.11.
१.१११.३	पुष्पात्पुष्पं विचिन्वीयात् (पुष्पं पुष्पं विचिनु°)	(अ)	पञ्चतन्त्र (PM I. 82).
		(आ)	चा.रा. ४.३, चा.सा. २.१७, CPS 84.2. (तु° चा.रा. ४.४-५; CRT 4.6, वृ.चा. ६.१३, CNG 85), महाभारत ५.३३,१७.
		(इ)	सु.र.भा. ३८८.४४९, सू. १८१.२, IS 4152.
		(ई)	(DhN(P) 182, RN(P) 93, ShD(T) 8, SRN(T) 323.

१.१११.१२ मातृवत् परदारेषु (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT III 63, PTem III 49, PS III 39, PN III. 32, PP I 390, Pts I 402, PtsK I 450, PRE III 52, PM I 173), हितोपदेश १.१३, वेताल° १६.१२.

(आ) चा.रा. (CRCa II 18), चा.नी.द. १२.१४, चा.नी. ३ (CnT II 19.6, CnT III 52.1), CPS 296.19. (तु° पद्मपुराण सृष्टिखण्ड १९.३५९).

(इ) ब्रह्मधर्म २.११, ८, सु.र.भा. १५९.२५४, सु.सू. २६.८, सूक्त ५.५, सु. १७८, संस्कृ. ५३, TP 383, IS 4805.

(ई) DhN(P) 53, Vyās(C) 48.

(उ) JSAIL 24.43.

१.१११.१७ यस्यार्थास्तस्य मित्राणि (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II 52, PS II 31. PN I 28), Pts I 3, PtsK I 3, PRE II 31, PM I 3), हितोपदेश १.१३४, विक्रमचरित (VCsr 12.5), शुकसप्तति (S'to Intr 39, S'to VI 3, S'tsA VI 2, S'tsM VI. 2), (तु° बृहत्कथामञ्जरी १६.४४२).

(आ) चा.रा. ४.१२, चा.नी.द. ७.१५, वृ.चा. ६.८, चा.नी. (CNP I 51, CNP II 76, CNI, I 67, CNG 238, CNT IV 50, CnT II 10.11, CnT

III 7.21, CnT V 35, CnT I 19), CPS 172. 103, महाभारत १२.८, १६, रामायण ६.८३.३५.

(इ) सु.ब.२८१६ सु.र.भा. ६५.६, सु.सु.४.३, सु.र.४४.७, IS 5409.

(ई) LN(P)167, NKy(B)211, NM(T) 6.7, SRN(T)49.

(उ) Ru 102, JSAIL 24. 16; 30.80.

१.१११.१८ त्यजन्ति मित्राणि धनैर् (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 54, PP II. 106, PRE II 33).

(आ) चा.रा. ४.१४, चा.नी.सा. १५.५, वृ.चा. ६.९, चा.नी. (CnT I 44), CPS 307.2.

(इ) सु.र.भा. ६४.१०, सु.र. ४४.१५, सु.सू. ४.१३, IS 2622.

(ई) LN(P) 81, DhN(P) 75, NKy(B) 111, NM(T) 6.8.

(उ) Ru 103.

१.११२.१ भृत्या बहुविधा ज्ञेया (त्रिविधाः पुरुषा रा°) (अ) (तु° हितोपदेश II. 69).

(आ) (तु° चा.रा. [CRT ५.११], चा.सा. १.७३, चा.नी. [CNI I 267, CNG 79, चा.रा. ५.१]), महाभारत ५.३२, ६७, रामायण ६.८, ६).

(इ) (तु° शा. प. १३६६, सु. र. भा. १४६.१५५, सू. १४३.३, IS 2646).

(ई) (तु° NS'(OJ) 15. 3).

१.११२.१५ दुर्जनः परिहर्तव्यो (अ) हितोपदेश २.६१.
(आ) चा. रा. ३.२६, चा. सा. ३.३५, चा.नी. २३ (CnT II 15.12, CnT III 7.84, CnT V 126), CPS 358. 1. (दु° चा. सा. ३.३२, चा. नी. २४, वृ. चा. २.८), भर्तृ. २७.
(इ) शा. प. ३५४, सु. व. ३५५, सु. र. भा. ५४.५, सु.र. २२.१, सु. सू. १०.७, संस्कृ. ५५, IS 2850.
(ई) Vyās (C) 34.
(उ) JSAIL 24.61.

१.११२.१७ तुल्यार्थं तुल्यसामर्थ्यं (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I 248, PtsK I. 278).
(आ) चा. रा. ५.२१, चा. नी. (CNPh 108, CNP II 197, CNI I 257, CNG 83, CNT IV 232, CnT II 6. 12, CnT III 4. 19, CnT VI 74, CnT VII 43), CPS 116. 23.
(इ) शा. प. १३६७, सु.र.भा. १४६. १५६, सु. सू. २३.५०, प. त. ६. ११४, IS 2584.
(ई) NM(T) 6.16.

१.११३.८ अञ्जनस्य क्षयं दृष्ट्वा (अ) हितोपदेश II. 9.
(आ) चा. रा. ५.३६, वृ. चा. ६.१५, चा. नी. (CNSK 75), CPS 125. 48.
(इ) शा. प. ६५०, सु. व. २६८४, सु.र.भा. १५४.४३, सू. १८७.२, IS 115.

		(ई) NM(T) 4. 2 (अ,आ) + 4.4 (इ,ई), SN (P) 60.
		(उ) JSAIL 24.129.
२.११३.६	वनेऽपि दोषाः प्रभवन्ति	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PS IV.6, PN IV.2, PRE IV 14), हितोपदेश ४.८७.
		(आ) चा. रा. ५.४२, चा. नी. (CNI I 285), पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड १६.३१७, शान्तिशातक २.२३.
		(इ) सू. २६१.२०, सु.र.भा. १७४. ९०५, सु. २१६, कवि. ६२, IS 5929.
		(उ) JSAIL 24. 138.
१.११३.१५	ब्रह्मा येन कुलालव°	(अ) विक्रमचरित ((VCsr 27.5), वेताल° XVII. 1, माघ ८५.
		(आ) चा. रा. ६.७, चा.नी. (CNI I 191), CPS 141. 18, भर्तृ २८५, अष्टरत्न ४.
		(इ) शा. प. ४३५, सु. व. ३१०२, सु. र. भा. ६३.६८, सु. र. ७६. १, सु. १५५, IS 4497.
१.११३,१८	शूरत्वयुक्ता मृदुमन्द° (यस्मिन्देशे च]	(अ) (तु° पञ्चतन्त्र [PP II. 62, Pts II. 75, PtsK II. 79, PPY 71 (-)]), वेताल° २४ (२०३).
		(आ) (तु° चा.रा. [CRCa II. 28]), महाभारत १२.१८१,१० च १२. ३२२,१०, भागवतपुराण ६.१, ४५).
		(इ) (तु° सु.र.भा. १५५.८८, सू सु. ८.२८, सु.र. २२४.३०, IS 5351).

१.११३.२१ दुर्गस्त्रिकूटः परिखा (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र ((Pts V. 90, PtsK V. 76, PM III. 65), वेताल° २३.१३.
(आ) चा.रा. ६.१३, CPS 138.12.
(इ) सु.र.भा. ३८३.२७१, IS 2844.

१.११३.२२ यस्मिन्वयसि यत्काले (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 136, PTem II. 118).
(अ) चा.रा. (CRCaII. 30).
(उ) Ru 120.

१.११३.४२ दरिद्रस्य मनुष्यस्य (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 55).
(आ) चा.रा. ६.३४, CPS 164. 82.
(ई) SS (OJ) 288.
(उ) Ru 103.

१.११३.४८ नाप्राप्तकालो म्रियते (यद्भावि न तद्भा°) (अ) (तु° पञ्चतन्त्र [PT II. 113, PTem II. 102, PS II. 66, PN I.62, PP V. 53, Pts V. 71-2 च II. 9, 105, PtsK II. 11 च 113, PRE II. 68] हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना २८ च ४.९, विक्रमचरित [VCsr VII. 13 च 12, 3-4, VCmr 12.38-9, VCjr 12.6.]).
(आ) (तु° चा.रा. ६.४१-४२, चा.नी. [CNL 91, CNG 232, CNP II. 38, CnT II. 19.1, CnT III. 87, CNI I 178], ल.चा. ८.१०, भर्तृ°, ६६६ च ५६९, महाभारत १३.१६३, ११, भागवतपुराण ७.२.४०, पञ्चरात्र १, ३, २०).
(इ) (तु° सु.व. २६२, सू. २६६.२६, सु.र.भा २६२.४२९, IS 5781).

		(ई) (तु° SS (OJ) 383, Vyās (C) 68).
		(उ) (तु° Ru 114).
१.११३.४९	लब्धव्यान्येव लभते	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 120, PTem II. 109).
		(आ) चा.रा. ६.४२ (तु° ६.४१), CPS 157. 45, महाभारत १२.२२६,२२.
		(इ) IS 5831.
		(उ) Ru 116.
१.११३.५१	शीलं कुलं नैव न चैव (नैवाकृतिः फलति)	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II 115, PTem II 104), विक्रमचरित (VCsr 14.4 च 27.7).
		(आ) चा.रा. ६.४५, CPS 150.44, भर्तृ° 40, प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि ३.१७०.
		(इ) सु.व. ३१००, सु.र. ७६.६, सु.र. भा. ९२.७२, सू. ५०.२३, सु. सू. ८.२३, सु १०८, IS 3825.
		(उ) Ru 115.
१.११३.५३-५४	यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II 106, PTem II. 95, PP2. 135, Pts II 125, PtsK II 134, PM II. 46, PT II 95).
		(आ) चा.रा. ६.४७, चा नी.द. १३. १४, चा.नी. (CNP II. 247, CNG 233, CNT IV 261, CnT II 20. 9, CnT III 53. 8), CPS 316.29, महाभारत १२.१८१, १६ च १२.३२२.१६ च १३ ७, २२-२३, पद्मपुराण भूमिखण्ड ८१.४७.

(इ) सु.व. ३०८१, सु.र. ७६.३, सु.र. भा. ९१.१२, सू. ४९.५, सु.सू. ८.३१, सु. २४३, IS 5114.

(उ) Ru 113.

१.११३.५७	नीचः सर्षपमात्राणि (पानीयं वा निरायासं)	(अ) (तु° हितोपदेश १.१६०).
		(आ) (तु° चा.रा. ६.४६, CPS 165. 86, महाभारत १२.१११.३२).
		(इ) (तु° सु. व. २७३२, सु. र. भा. १३६.४५, IS 4047).
		(उ) JSAIL 38.87; 24.147.
१.११४.२	शोकत्राणं भयत्राणं	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II 170 & IV. 7, PTem II 152, PS II 83 & IV. 3, PN I. 79 & IV 3, PP II. 195, Pts II. 179, PtsK II. 194, cf. II. 59, PRE II. 95 and 4.7, PM II. 73), हितोपदेश १,२२५.
		(आ) चा.रा. ७.२, चा.नी. (CNG 134). (तु° वृ.चा. [CvL I 8.33]), भोजप्रबन्ध १४८.
		(इ) सु.व. २७००, शा.प. १४७३, सु.र.भा. ८८.१४, सू. १०८.६, ज. सू. ४२७.८, सु. र. ५५.९, सुभाषितसारावली, सु. र. भा. ३६०.५२६, प.त. ४.११, IS 6527.
		(उ) Ru 127, JSAIL 24.97.
१.११४.४	न मातरि न दारेषु	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PS II 79, PN I 75, PP II 190, PTsK II 190, PRE II 89), हितोपदेश १.२२२.

(आ) चा.रा. ७.३, CPS 177.5.

(इ) शा. प. १४७२, सु. व. २७०१, सु.र.भा. ८८.१३, सू. १०८,५, सु.र. ५५.८, IS 3370.

(उ) JSAIL 24.99.

१.११४.६ मात्रा स्वस्रा दुहित्रा वा

(अ) हितोपदेश १.१२६.

(अ) चा. रा. (CRC 7. 9), मानवधर्मशास्त्र १.२१५, भागवतपुराण ६,१६, १७ भाविष्यपुराण ब्रह्मपर्वन् ४.१८४ (तु° महाभरत १३.४८, ३७-३८ च [Poona edition] १२.२०७,१२, आपस्तम्बीय १.२,७,३,७-११;१,१.३, १६, बौधायन १, २, ३, २३,३३, मानवधर्मशास्त्र २.२१४-५, २.९४, शुक्रनीति ३.१८).

(इ) सु.व.२७८०, सु.र.भा. १५४.४५, शा.प. ६५४, IS 4809.

(ई) SS(OJ) 448.

(उ) JSAIL 22. 12 ; 24. 77.

१.११४.९ क्षणं नास्ति रहो नास्ति (स्थानं नास्ति क्षणो)

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I 107, Pts I 138, PtsK I.154), हितोपदेश १.१२३, विक्रमचरित (VCsrVI 11), वेताल० २४.२.

(आ) चा.रा. ७.६, चा.नी. (CNF 69, CNPN 54, CNI I 157, CNG 138), पञ्चरात्र १.२४, ७६.

(इ) शा.प. १४९९, र. ८१४, प.ल. ५२. ३५, सु.र.भा. ३४८. १२, IS 7222.

(उ) JSAIL 22. 19 ; 24. 74.

१.११४.१९ छलेन मित्रं कलुषेण (शाठ्येन मि०)

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 153, PTem I. 140, PS I. 132, PN II 106, PP I. 373, PRE I. 144, PM I 1. 59). (तु॰ कथासरित्सागर १०.६०,२०३).

(आ) चा.रा. ७.१८.

(इ) शा. प. १५३८, सु.व. २९१८, सु.र.भा. १७२.८१६, सू.३०२६.

(उ) Ru 76.

१.११४.३२ कूपोदकं वटच्छाया

(अ) हितोपदेश १.२०६.

(आ) चा. नी. ९४, CPS 210. 89. (तु० चा.रा. ७.२६).

(इ) सु.र.भा. १६२.४२१, IS 1850.

(उ) JSAIL 24.70.

१.११४.४७ न विश्वसेदविश्वस्तं

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts II. 39 & IV. 13, PtsK II. 43 & IV. 14, PP IV.12), शुकसप्तति (Sts 21. 3, S'tsA 23.2, S'tsPet 28 b).

(आ) चा.रा.७.४२, चा.सा.३.४७, चा. नी. (CNPh 39, CNI I. 102, CNI II. 47, CNG 87), महाभारत १.१४२, ६०-६१ च ५.३७, ६, च १२.१३८, १४२, हरिवंश ११६४.

(इ) शा. प. १३०१, सु.व. २७३४, सु. सू २३.१९, शब्द-विश्वस्त च विश्वास, कवि ६७, IS 3433.

(ई) NM(T) 4.8.

१.११४.५४ षट्कर्णो भिद्यते मन्त्रश्च॰

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PM I. 53 ; cf. Pts I. 99, PtsK I. 122), वेताल Intr. १३.(तु॰ हितोपदेश ३.३९)

(आ) चा.रा.७.५५, चा.नी. (CNP II. 218, CNT IV. 247), CPS 207.82.(तु° स्कन्दपुराण काशीखण्ड २१,६३).

(इ) शा. प. १३५४, सु.व. २७१८, सु.र.भा.१४६.१५४ (तु° १४७. २२७), सू. र. २२८.७७, IS 6603.

१.११४.५५ तया गवा किं क्रियते

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PS Km 4 PN Km 3, PP Km 3, Pts Km 4, PtsK Km 5, PRE Km 3, PM Km 3), हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना १२,विक्रम-चरित (VCsr 21.2), शुक-सप्तति (S'to Intr. 42).

(आ) चा.रा.७.५६,चा.नी.द.४.९, चा. नी. (CNS'C 7, CNS'I 7, CNS'L 7, CNS' 7), CPS 100.49), बृहस्पतिस्मृति २६. ३६, हनुमान्नाटक १३.१५.

(इ) सु. व. २७२७, सु.र.भा.९०.२, सू ९३.५, सु.र. १२१.२, IS 1941 & 1748.

१.११४.५८ एको हि गुणवान् पुत्रो (वरमेको गुणी पुत्रो)

(अ) हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना १७.

(आ) चा.रा ७,५९, चा.नी.द.४.६,ल. चा. "O", चा.नी.८ (CnT I. 31), CPS 98. 46, भागवत-पुराण १०.११४. ५८.

(इ) सु.व.१७३०, सु.र.भा. ९०.७, सु.र. १२०.१, सूक्त. ११.३, सु. सू.२३.३९, सु. १३२, IS 5971.

(उ) JSAIL 24. 93.

१.११४.६० जायमानो हरेद्दारान्
(अ) विक्रमचरित (Oa after VCbr 4. 0. 10), शुकसप्तति (S'to Intr 17).
(आ) चा.रा.७.६२, CPS 192.148.
(इ) सु.व.३३६७.

१.११४.६६ बहूनामल्पसाराणां
(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 14, PTem I. 11, PP I. 1334, Pts I. 335, PtsK I. 376, PML 137), (तु° हितोपदेश १.३५).
(आ) चा.रा. (CRC 7.85, CRB 7.80, CRBh II. 7.37), CPS 184.24.
(इ) शा.प.१३२६, सु.व.२७४२, सु.र.भा.१४४.८३-८४ (तु° ८३.२), सू.१६३.७२, ज.सू. ४०३.९, IS 4425 (cf. 648, सु.र. २२७.७३).
(ई) LN (P) 132, DhN (P) 159, NKy (B) 217.
(उ) Ru 20.

१.११४.६९ ब्रह्मघ्ने च सुरापे च
(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I. 248 & IV. 10, Pts III 157 & IV.10, PtsK IV 11, PM I. 95).
(आ) चा.रा. ७.७२, CPS 185.29, रामायण ४.३४.१२.
(इ) शा. प. ७०४, सु. व. २९८८, शब्द-निष्कृतिः, IS 2198.
(ई) SS (OJ) 328.

१.११४.७२ नोपेक्षितव्यो दुर्बुद्धिः
(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT III 142, PT_2 III. 147).
(आ) चा.रा. ८.४४, CPS 242.60.

(इ) शा.प. १३०४, सु.व. २७६२, सू. १७४.३७, सु.र.भा. १४६.३१५, IS 3837.

(ई) SRN (T) 282.

(उ) Ru 162.

१.११५.२ धर्मः प्रव्रजितस्तपः

(अ) वेताल° ५.४ (*ad* 21. 58,42).

(आ) चा.रा. [८.१, CPS 220. 5, भर्तृ ५४३.

(इ) सु.व. ३०७६, सु.र.भा. ३८६.४८८ (तु° ६६.२५), सु.र. ६४.६, सु.सू. ३०.१, सु. ८५, IS 3092.

१.११५.३ धन्यास्ते ये न पश्यन्ति

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP II 43 & V. 58, Pts V 78, PtsK V 65 [cf. Pts II 53, I 320, PtsK II 55, I 363], PM V 41).

(आ) चा.रा. ८.३, चा.नी. (CNG 157), CPS 223.10.

(ई) सु.व. ३१७३, सु.र.भा. ६६.२६, सु. २०८, IS 3084.

१.११५.१५ नाभिषेको न संस्कार

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PS I. 5, PN II. 3, PP I. 6, PtsK I. 25, PRE I. 5), हितोपदेश २.१७ (तु° कथासरित्सागर १०.६०,१८).

(आ) चा.रा. ८.१३, चा.नी. (CNN 12, CNI I 55).

(इ) सु.व. ५८१, सु.र.भा. २२०.७, सु.र. १७६.१६, सू. १२१.२१, सु. २१७, IS 3601.

(उ) JSAIL 24,142.

१.११५.१८ कान्तावियोगः स्वजना° (अ) वेताल° ४.१५

(आ) चा.रा. ८.१६, चा.नी.द. २.१४, वृ.चा. (CvTb 8, 25), चा. नी. (CNG 327, CNP II 24), CPS 28.13. (तु° चा. नी.द. ४.८).

(इ) सु.र.भा. ३८६.४७६ (तु° १७२. ८२७), IS 1630.

१.११५.२३ आयुः कर्म चरित्रं च (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP II. 64, PtsK II. 82, PPY 73 (68), हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना २७, वेताल° ८.८.

(आ) चा.नी.द. ४.१, ल.चा. ८.७, चा.नी. (CNP I 82, CNP II. 58,CNT IV 83, CNM 80, CNMN 65, CNI I 80, CNG 308, CnT II 24.7, CnT III 58.5, CnT V 80), CPS 91.24 & 313.19. (तु° मानवधर्मशास्त्र २.१३६, याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति १.११६, वासिष्ठधर्मसूत्र १३.५६-५७, विष्णुस्मृति ३२.१६).

(इ) सु.र.भा. १६२.४२८, सु. ५२.११, सु. १७६ च १६१, IS 992.

(उ) JSAIL 24.86.

१.११५.२८ आयुर्वर्षशतं नृणां (अ) वेताल° २३.५.

(आ) चा. रा. ८.२७, CPS 239.51, भर्तृ°. २००.

(इ) सु.र.भा. ३७३.१८०, सु.र. ६४.६, सु.सू. ३०.८, सु. ८२, IS 996.

१.११५.३१	अहितहितविचारशून्य°	(अ) **पञ्चतन्त्र** (PT I. 12, PTem I. 9, PS I. 15, PN II. 11, PP I. 15, PRE I. 14, PM I. 14), **हितोपदेश** २.४२. (आ) चा.रा. ८.३०, CPS 226.18. (इ) सु व. ३४४४, सू.र. ७६.११, सु.र.भा. ६६.५, IS 826. (उ) JSAIL 24.39.
१.११५.३२	शौर्ये तपसि दाने च (दाने त° शौर्ये)	(अ) हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना १६. (आ) चा.रा. ८.३३, चा.नी. (CNG 105), CPS 222.15, **महाभारत** ५.१३२, २३-२४. (इ) सु.व. २७३१, सु.र.भा. ६०.६, (तु° शा.प. १४७७), IS 2761. (उ) JSAIL 24.90; 30.72.
१.११५.३६	यस्य त्रिवर्गशून्यानि (यस्य धर्मविहीना°)	(अ) **पञ्चतन्त्र** (PP III. 88, Pts III. 96, PtsK III. 97, PM III. 32). (तु° **हितोपदेश** १.१६६). (आ) चा.रा. ८.३५, CPS 225.16. (इ) शा.प. ६६६, सु.व. २६५६, सर. १६२.११५, IS 5372. (ई) SS(OJ) 185. (उ) JSAIL 24.154.
१.११५.३८	स्वपुरा वै कापुरुषाः	(अ) **पञ्चतन्त्र** (PT I. .1, PTem I. 8, PS I. 14, PN II. 10, PP I. 14, Pts I. 25 & II. 136, PtsK I. 31 & II. 145, PRE I. 13). (आ) चा.रा. ८.३६, **महाभारत** ५.१३२.९.

(इ) सु.र.भा. १६४.५०१, ज.सु. २९९.१९, IS 7109.
(उ) Ru 19.

१.११५.४५ तावद्भयस्य भेतव्यं
(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I. 170, PD 307.102), हितोपदेश ४.१७ च १.५८, वेताल° ११.७.
(आ) चा.रा. ८.४२, चा.नी.द. ५.३, चा.नी. (CNP II 185, CNI I 189, CNG 177, CNT IV 250, CnT II 17. 11, CnT III 7b 23 & 5. 35), CPS 121. 36, महाभारत १.१४२, ८०-८१ च. १२. १४०,३३.
(इ) शा.प. १३०६, सु.व. २७५५, बु. ५८५, सु.र.भा. १६४.५००, सू.१२६.४, IS 2550.
(इ) NM(T) 2.6, ShD(T) 89.
(उ) JSAIL 24.145-6; 30.95.

१.११५.४६ ऋणशेषं चाग्निशेषं
(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT III. 114, PS III 69, PN III 59, PP III 219, Pts III 178, PtsK III 256, PRE III 99, PM III 76, PT_2 III. 119).
(आ) चा.रा. ८.४५, CPS 242.61, (तु° चा.नी. ३८, चा.सा.३.५८) महाभारत १२.१४०,५८.
(इ) शा.प. १४९१, सु.व. २७६०, IS 1332 (तु° सू. १७६.५७).
(ई) NM(T) 3.3.
(उ) Ru 161, JSAIL 30.96.

१.११५.४७ कृते प्रतिकृतं कुर्यात्

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP V 64, Pts V 84, PtsK V 70, PM V 47), वेताल° २५.१ (p. 117), शुकसप्तति (S'ts 23. 33).

(आ) चा.नी.द. १७.२, चा.नी. (CNP II 2.6, CNI I 123, CNG 175, CNT IV 231, CNM 54, CnT II 25.9), CPS 336.13.

(इ) सु.र.भा. १६५.५४६, IS 1874.

१.११५.४८ परोक्षे कार्यहन्तारं

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I 284, PM I 78), हितोपदेश १.७८.

(आ) चा.रा. ८.४९, चा.नी.द. २.५, वृ.चा. २.५, चा.सा. ३.६१, चा.नी. १६ (CnT II 3.1, CuT III 2.5, CnT VI 25), CPS 25.4, भर्तृ. ५९७.

(इ) सु.र. भा. ८८.१, सू. १११.६, सु.र. ५४.२, शब्द-परोक्ष च मित्र, सु. २२६, संस्क ५४, IS 3979.

(ई) LN (P) 80, DhN(P) 87, NKy(B) 110.

१.११५.५२ न सा सभा यत्र न

(अ) हितोपदेश ३.६४, (तु° कथा-सरित्सागर १४.१०६.१६८).

(आ) चा.रा. ८.५३, चा.नी. (CNG 330), CPS 237.44, महाभारत ५.३४, ५९, रामायण ७.५८ (३), ३३, भर्तृ. ५६८, प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि २.१२८, नारदीयमनुसंहिता ३.१८.

(इ) शा. प. १३४४, सु. र. भा. १७४.८८४, सु.२००.१५२, प.त. ६.१०८, अ. कौ. ३८५, अ. मु. ५२, IS 3483.

(ई) NM(F) 3.12.

(उ) JSAIL 24.10 (निबन्ध); 30.30; 26.12.

१.११५.६० सर्वे क्षयान्ता निलयाः

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 165, PTem II 147, Pts Göttingen Gel. Anz. 1862, p. 1363), हितोपदेश (HS *ad* 1.180 v. l.).

(आ) चा. रा. ८.५६, चा. नी. (CNG 329, CNI I 186), CPS 245.70, महाभारत ११.२, ३, च १२.२७.२६, च १२.३३०,२०, रामयाण २.१०५,१६, च ७.५२, ११, गोभिलस्मृति ३.४३, दिव्यावदान (ed. Cowell) २७.

(इ) सु. र. भा. ३७२. १६७, सू. २६२.७, IS 6948.

(ई) SS (OS) 471.

(उ) Ru 126, JSAIL 30.74.

१.११५.६३ पिता रक्षति कौमारे

(अ) हितोपदेश १.१२८.

(आ) चा. रा. ८.६४, चा. नी. (CNF 58, CNPh 92, CNI I 155, CNG 180, CNL 46), मानवधर्मशास्त्र ९.३, महाभारत १३.२०,२१. रामयाण २.३६,३३, बौधायनधर्मसूत्र २.२, ३, ४५, गौतमस्मृति २८.१, वासिष्ठधर्मसूत्र ५.३, नारदस्मृति १३.३१. पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड ५४.२३.

(इ) सु.र.भा. १६६.५७५, IS 4067.

(उ) JSAIL 27.28 (निबन्ध); 22.7; 24. 67; 30.127 (निबन्ध).

१.११५.६७ अथातुराणां न सुहृन्न

(अ) विक्रमचरित (VCsr 11.), शुकसप्तति (Śto Intr 14).

(आ) चा. रा. ८.६५, वृ. चा. (CvTb 3.22), चा. नी. (CNP II 18, CnT II 21.7, CnT III 54.3), CPS 244.67. (तु° चा. नी. [CNI I 148]).

(इ) सु.व. ३४४१, सु. र. भा. १७२. ८४५, सु.र. २२५.३८, (तु° सूक्त. १०.४), IS 602.

१.११५.७३ स्थानस्थितानि पूज्यन्ते (स्थानभ्रष्टान पू०)

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 92, PTem II. 81, PS II 52, PN I 49, PP II 118, PRE II. 57, PM II 42), हितोपदेश १.१०४ (Cf. HS *ad* 36.5).

(आ) चा.रा. ८.७०, CPS 242.59. (तु° CNI I 204-5, CNG 171, च 271, CvA 8.18, CvS 8.18, CNP II 202).

(इ) सु.र.भा. ८६.६ (तु° ८६.५), IS 7223, (तु° सु. २०३.१७१, २१८, IS 5750).

(उ) Ru 110, JSAIL 24.6.

१.११५.७६ दूरस्थोऽपिसमीपस्थो

(अ) विक्रमचरित (VCsr 3.10, VCmr, 3.91-2), शुकसप्तति (Śto Intr 49).

(आ) (तु° चा.रा. ८.७८, चा.नी.द. १४.८, चा.नी. [CNN 61,

CNP II. 143, CNT IV 114, CNM 111, CnT II 30.9, CnT VII 96], CPS 333.6).

(इ) सु,र.भा. १६६.५६१, सु.सू. १३. १९, सु. १६६, IS 2908.

१.११५.७७ मुखभङ्गःस्वरोदीनो (गतिभङ्गः स्व०)

(अ) विक्रमचरित (VCjr 1. 1). (तु° पञ्चतन्त्र [PT II: 65, PTem II 54, PS II 35, PN 1. 32, PRE II. 38]).

(आ) चा.नी. (CNG 241, CNT IV 208).

(इ) सु. ७०, IS 2811.

(उ) Ru 104.

१.११५.८० माता शत्रुः पिता वैरी

(अ) हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना ३८.

(आ) चा.नी.द. २.११, वृ.चा. २.१५, चा.नी. ७. (CnT II 3.11, CuT III 2.15, CnT VI 37), CPS 27.10. (तु° चा. रा. ७.६०).

(इ) सु.र.भा. ३८.१४, संस्कृ. ५३, सु. १६६, IS 4800.

(ई) LN(P) 18, DhN(P) 18..

(उ) JSAIL 24.95.

१.११५.८१ विद्या नाम कुरूपरूप°

(अ) हितोपदेश (*ad* HJ Intr 39 [102], *ad* HS Intr 48, HH 6. 1-4), विक्रमचरित (VCsr 9.3, VCjr 21.1).

(आ) चा.रा. (CRC 2.36, CRB 2.31, CRBh II. 2.31), चा.नी. (CNI I 13, CNF 105, भर्तृ ८), ७०, गुणरत्न ३.

(इ) सु.र.भा. ३०.१५, सु.र. ४२.१, सूक्ता. ३.९-१०, सु.सू. ११.३, सु. ८, प्र. १९.४, IS 6089.

(उ) JSAIL 24.30.

पद्मपुराण

भूमिखण्ड ८१.४२ यथा भूत्पिण्डतः कर्ता (अ) हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना ३४.

(आ) महाभारत १३.१.२४.

(इ) सु.र.भा. ८२.८, दृष्प. ११.

भूमिखण्ड ८१.४७ यथा धेनुसहस्रेषु तु° गरुडपुराण १.११३.५३-५४.

भूमिखण्ड ८१.५१ यथा छायातपौ नित्यं (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP II. 138, Pts II. 129, PtsK II. 136, PM II. 47).

(आ) महाभारत १३.१.७५.

(इ) सु.व. ३०८०, सु.र.भा. ३७७.३३ सू.४३.४, सु.सू.८,३२, IS 5106

सृष्टिखण्ड १८.९२ वाजिवारणलौहानां तु° गरुडपुराण १.११०.१५.

सृष्टिखण्ड १९.३१७ वनेऽपि दोषाः प्रभवन्ति तु° गरुडपुराण १.२९३,६.

सृष्टिखण्ड १६.३५९ मातृवत्परदारांस्तु तु° गरुडपुराण १.१११.१२.

सृष्टिखण्ड ५४.२१ घृतकुम्भसमा (अ) हितोपदेश १.१२७, वेताल० Intr. १ च ३.१०.

(आ) चा.नी.७५ (तु° CNP II.263; मानवधर्मशास्त्र २.९४ भागवतपुराण ७.१२,९).

(इ सु.र.भा. १६२.४०८, IS 2217.

(ई) SS (OJ) 139.

(उ) JSAL 24.79.

सृष्टिखण्ड ५४.२३ पिता रक्षति कौमारे तु° गरुडपुराण १.११५.६३.

सृष्टिखण्ड २२४.४७ यो धर्मशीलो जितमान०(अ) वेताल० १६.११.

(आ) वृ.चा. (CvH 8.11, CvL

I. 8. 20, CvL II. 8.14), चा.नी (CNI I. 144).

(इ) सु.र.भा. ३८६.४६०, सु. ४५, IS 5598.

(ई) Slt (OJ) 16.

ad शब्द-नीचः(?) मनस्यन्यद्वचस्य०

(अ) हितोपदेश १.१०३ (*ad* HS I. 93).

(आ) चा.नी. "Z", CPS 368.47.

(इ) सु.र.भा.।५५.४०, सु.र.२६.५१, IS 4693.

ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण

३.२८.५ व्यालग्राही यथा व्या०

(अ) हितोपदेश ३,२१, विक्रमचरित (VCsr 30.6).

(आ) स्कन्दपुराण, काशीखण्ड ५७ (४५.७), तु° ४.५९ (तु° आङ्गिर, व्यास, अपरार्क).

(इ) शा.प. ६०६, IS 6329.

(उ) JSAIL 23.11, 20 (निबन्ध).

भविष्यपुराण

ब्राह्मपर्वन् ४.१८४ मात्रा स्वस्रा दुहित्रा वा

तु° गरुडपुराण १.११४.६.

उत्तरपर्वन्१०२.२९ सकृज्जपन्ति राजानः

(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I. 379), वेताल° ४.२९, विक्रमचरित (VCm 2.70–1).

(आ) चा.नी.द. ४.११, चा.नी. (CNP I 21, CNG 262, CNT IV 20, CNM 21, CNMN 21, CnT II 22.10, CnT III 56.3), CPS 100.5). (तु° मानवधर्मशास्त्र ९.४७), नारद° १२.२४, याज्ञवल्क्य° १.६५, विष्णुस्मृति ५.१६०).

(इ) सु.र.भा. ३७७,१८, IS 6650.

(ई) LN (P) 120, NKy (B) 148.

(उ) JSAIL 20.40.

(?) भट्टिर्नष्टो भारविश्चापि नष्टो भिक्षुर्नष्टो भीमसेनोऽपि नष्टः।
भुक्कुण्डोऽहं भूपतिस्त्वं हि राजन्पङ्क्तौ भस्याप्यन्तकः संनिविष्टः ॥

(In Śto 62.1 p. 381) attributed to Bhaviṣya-purāṇa but not found there ; found in Bhoja-prabandha 318).

भागवतपुराण

१०.६०,१५ ययोरात्मसमं वित्तं — (अ) वेताल° (*ad.* III 14, 8, p. 114, MS. e).

(इ) IS 5317.

१०.११४,५८ वरमेको गुणी पुत्रो — तु° गरुडपुराण १.११४,५८.

मार्कण्डेयपुराण

४.१२ दत्वा याचन्ति पुरुषाः — (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II 91, PTem II 80, PS II 51, PN I 48, PP II 117, PRE II 56).

(आ) महाभारत ४.२०,६-७.

(इ) IS 2701.

(उ) Ru 110.

८.४२ अश्वमेधसहस्रं च — (अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PTem β IV 20 in Anh. IV, PT_2 IV (p. 23), हितोपदेश ४.१३५.

(आ) चा. नी. (CNMN 65), महाभारत १.७४, १०२, १२. १६२, २६ च १३.७५.३१ (तु° १३.२२,१४), विष्णुस्मृति ८.३६, नारदस्मृति ४.२२१, नारदमनु-संहिता १. १८६, रामायण २.६१.१०.

		(इ) सु.र.भा.८३.२, IS 731. (उ) Ru 176, JSAIL 26, 27 (निबन्ध) ; 30. 7.
२०.२७	स धन्यो जीवितं तस्य	(अ) विक्रमचरित (VCbr II 11 (2) L MS). (इ) IS 6777.
२१.६६	पुत्रेण नातिशयितो	(अ) (तु°शुकसप्तति [S'ts VII. 2, S'tsA VII. 2, S'tsM VII. 2, S'ts Pet MS 146, Śto IV. 3]). (आ) (तु°चा.नी.[CNP I. 7, CNP II. 7, CNI I. 45, CNT IV 6, CNM 6, CNMN 6, CnT II. 16. 2, CnT III. 7. 86, CnT V. 147, CNW 79]). (इ) (तु°सु.११६, IS 1182).
२६.३१-३२	अतिथिर्यस्य भग्नाशो	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PD 305. 85), हितोपदेश १.६४. (आ) महाभारत १२.१९१, १२, विष्णुस्मृति ६७.३३, गृहस्थरत्नाकर ३०२ ४, स्मृतिमुक्ताफलम् ४१६. ४, (तु°पञ्चरात्र १.६,४३). (इ) शब्द-आह्निकतत्त्व च भग्नाश, IS 134. (उ) JSAIL 26. 10.
३४.११२-११३	तत्र पुत्र न वस्तव्यं	(अ) हितोपदेश १.११२ (*ad* HS I. 100). (आ) (तु° विष्णुस्मृति ७१.६६). (इ) सु.र.भा.१६७.६३१, सु.र. ५५. ६, IS 2477.

६८.४१	त्रिपौरुषश्चापि निधि°	(अ) (तु° पञ्चतन्त्र (PP II. 9, Pts II. 10, PtsK II. 12). (इ) (तु° IS 3950).

वामनपुराण

शब्द-वरं(?)	वरं युक्तं मौनं न च	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 70, PTem II. 59, PS II. 38, PN I. 35, PP II. 90 PRE II. 43), हितोपदेश १.१४५. (आ) भर्तृ ७३३, पद्यसंग्रह ११. (इ) सु.र.भा. ३७७.९८५, सु.र. २३९. ८६, IS 5981. (ई) DhN(P) 397. (उ) Ru 105.

वायुपुराण

९३.१०२	जीर्यन्ते जीर्यतः केशा	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP V 63, Pts V 16 & 83, PtsK V 15, PM V 46). (आ) चा.रा. (CRC 6. 57), चा.नी. (CNP II 124-6), CPS 136. 8, महाभारत १३, ७, २४-२५, हरिवंश १६४४, भर्तृ. ५०४ (तु° १५६), वासिष्ठधर्म-सूत्र ३०.९. (इ) सु २२४.२, कवि. ६५, (तु° शा. प. ४१९), IS 2428. (ई) SS(OJ) 457 (cf. 456, cf. Vyās(C) 30).

विष्णुपुराण

पराशरधर्म-संहिता. पराशर ३६४(?)	बालो वा यदि वा वृद्धो	(अ) हितोपदेश १.६२. (आ) चा.नी. (CNPh 137).

		(इ) IS 4448.
		(उ) ZDMG 61. 352.

शिवपुराण

रुद्रसंहिता ४.२१९,५२	यस्य बुद्धिर्बलं तस्य	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT I. 62, PTem I 55, PS I 54, PN II. 39, PP I 172, Pts I 214, PtsK I 245 & 268, PRE I 63, PM I 81), हितोपदेश २.१२१, शुकसप्तति (S'to 40.1, cf. S'ts 31.1, S'tsA 46.1, S'ts Pet. MS 38a). (तु° कथासरित्सागर १०.६०, ६१ च १०७, बृहत्कथामञ्जरी २६.२९२).
		(आ) चा.नी.द. १०.१६, चा.नी. (CNW 64, CNPN 58, CNI I 201, CnT II 18. 12, CnT III 8. 6), CPS 281. 25.
		(इ) सु न, १५९ च २००, सूक्त. १४.१३, IS 5386, TP 436.
		(ई) ShD(T) 85.

स्कन्दपुराण

कौमारिखण्ड ३६.८६	जलूका रक्तमाधत्ते	(अ) (तु° वेताल° [ad XXI 53, 36 [p. 191, MSs bc]).
		(इ) cf. IS 2369.
काशीखण्ड १.८५	अप्रकटीकृतशक्तिः	(अ) (तु° Pts I. 31, PtsK I 37).
		(इ) (तु° सु.र.भा. १७१.७७६, IS 460.
काशीकखण्ड ४.५८	तिस्रः कोट्योऽधर्मकोटी	(अ) (तु° पञ्चतन्त्र [PP III. 164, PtsK III. 186], हितोपदेश

		३.३०, विक्रमचरित [VCsr 30.5]).
		(आ) (तु° व्यास च हारीत-पराशर ; अङ्गिर, शङ्खलिखित च शङ्ख-मिताक्षर).
		(इ) (तु° शा.प. ६०८, IS 2568).
		(उ) (तु° JSAIL 23.11, 30 ; (निबन्ध).
काशीकखण्ड २१.६३	षट्कर्णो भिद्यते मन्त्रश्	तु° गरुडपुराण १.११४, ५४.
काशीकखण्ड ५७(४९.७)	व्यालग्राही यथा व्या°	तु° ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराण ३.२८, ५.
रेवाखण्ड १०३.१२८	शून्यमपुत्रस्य गृ°	(अ) (तु. पञ्चतन्त्र [PP II 59, PS II 32, PN I 29, PP II 80, PRE II 34], हितोपदेश १.१३५, विक्रमचरित [VCsr 21. 1, VCmr 21. 19-20], वेताल° ६.२).
		(आ) (तु° चा.नी.द. ४.१४, वृ.चा. ७.९, चा.नी. ४५ [CNP I 24, CNI I 150, CNT IV 23, CNM 23, CNMN 23, CNS'L 107, CnT II 17.1, CnT III 7 b 8, CnT V 29], CPS 101. 53, मृच्छकटिका १.८).
		(इ) (तु° सू. २२६.१४, सु.र.भा. ६६.३२, IS 6506).
		(ई) (तु° NS'(OJ) 5.4, LN(P) 115, DhN(P) 261, NKy (B) 143).
		(उ) (तु° Ru 103).

नागरखण्ड १५५.४३	न सा विद्या न तच्छिल्पं	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 4, PtsK I. 4). (इ) शा.प. ३३७, सु.र.भा. ६५.३, सु.र. ४६.३१, IS 3182.
नागरखण्ड १५५.४४	इह लोके च धनिनां	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 5, PtsK I. 5, PM I. 4), शुकसप्तति (S'ts 6.5). (इ) शा.प. ४०३, स.र. ५७.१२, IS 1143.
नागरखण्ड १५५.४५	अर्थेभ्यो हि विवृद्धेभ्यः	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 6, PtsK I 6, PT Anh. I. 57 [3. 57]). (आ) महाभारत १२.८, ६, रामायण ६.८३, ३२. (इ) IS 618.
नागरखण्ड १५५.४६	पूज्यते यदपूज्योऽपि	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 7, PtsK I 7, PM I. 5), शुकसप्तति (S'tsA. VI. 4). (इ) IS 4160.
नागरखण्ड १५५.४७	अशनादिन्द्रियाणीव	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 8, PtsK I. 8). (इ) IS 718.
नागरखण्ड १५५.४८	अर्थार्थी सर्वलोकोऽयं	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 9, PtsK I. 9). (इ) सु.र.भा. ६४.१, IS 608.
नागरखण्ड १५८.६४	अलक्तको यथा रक्तो	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 145, PtsK I. 161, PM1.65) विक्रमचरित (VCsr VI. 14). (आ) (तु° मृच्छकटिका ४.१५, समयमातृका ५.८६-८७). (इ) सु.र.भा. ३४८.१७, IS 626. (उ) GVS 441-8.

नागरखण्ड १८५.१५	यथा ह्यामिषमाकाशे	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 401 & II. 116, Pts K I. 449 & II. 124), हितोपदेश १.१९८.
		(आ) महाभारत ३.२,३६, चा. नी. (CnT II. 20.3, CnT III. 53. 1).
		(इ) शा. प. ३३८, सु. व. ३३५६, सु. र. भा. ६४.९, IS 5160.
		(ई) SS (OJ) 470.
		(उ) JSAIL 24. 21 ; 30.21.
नागरखण्ड १६३.६	उशना वेद यच्छास्त्रं	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I.142, Pts I. 185, PtsK I. 199), हितोपदेश १.१३० (तु° १.९४).
		(आ) महाभारत १३.३९,८.
		(इ) सु.र.भा. ३४८.२०, IS 1319.
		(ई) SS (OJ) 436.
		(उ) JSAIL 22. 33.
प्रभासखण्ड २५५.३२	सर्वत्र संपदस्तस्य	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II.79, PTem II. 68, PS II 42, PN I. 38, PP II. 97, PRE II. 47), हितोपदेश १.१५२,
		(आ) चा.रा. ८.७४, CPS 237. 40.
		(इ) शा.प. ३१६, ज.सू. ४४३.५, सु.व. ३३४७, सु.र.भा. ७५.८, सु.र. ५४.९, सू. २६८,८.
		(ई) SS (OJ) 421.
		(उ) Ru 108, JSAIL 24. 132.
प्रभासखण्ड २५५.३३	संतोषामृततृप्तानां	(अ) पञ्चतन्त्र (PS II. 43, PN I. 39, PP II. 161, Pts II. 152, PtsK II. 162, PRE II. 48), हितोपदेश १.१५३.

(आ) चा.नी.द. ७.३, वृ.चा. ५.१३, चा. नी. (CNI I. 130, CNŚK 145, CnT I. 111); CPS 182.20.
(इ) शा. प. ३१०, ज. सू. ४४३.७, सु.र.भा. ७५.१, सु.र. ५३.४, सु.सू.९.४६, सु. ७९, IS 6800.
(उ) JSAIL 24. 19.

II. Similar Stanzas

अग्निपुराण

२३८ हितोपदेश ३.१४६, स्वाम्यमात्यश्च रा°
ad शब्द- विक्रमचरित (VCSr 11.7); त्यक्त्वात्मसुखभोगेच्छं.
परदुःख Also IS 2619.

गरुडपुराण

१.१०८,१५ पञ्चतन्त्र (PP I. 341, Pts I. 383); ४.१३; ते पुत्रा येपितुर्
Also चा. नी. द. २, ४, वृ. चा. २.४, चा. सा. २.६१, चा. नी. (CNP I 63, CNP II 101 & 196, CNG 107, CNT IV 64, CNM 63, CNMN 53, CNŚ 43, CNŚL 35, CNŚT 84, CNŚK 19, CnT II 2. 11, CnT III 2. 3, CnT VI 24, CnT V 49), CPS 25.3. (तु° चा. रा. १.२१), सु. ११८, IS 2611.

१.१०६.४८ वेताल° *ad* Intr. 7. 27 (p. 234), विक्रमचरित (VCsr 9. 2, VCjr 3). येषां न विद्या न तपो.
Also भर्तृ. ६६७, चा. नी. द. १०.७, चा. रा. (CRC 2. 53; CRBh II 2. 50, CRCa I 2. 48), चा. नी. (CNI I 142, CnT II 18. 9 & 28. 10, CnT III 8. 3, CnT VII 71), CPS 264. 2, सु. १५४, सु. र. ३५. १०, सु. र. भा. ४०. ३२, सु. सू. ५. ९, IS 5573.

१.११३.१ हितोपदेश (प्रस्तावना *ad* HS 6, HH 1. 17-8) ; पण्डिते च गुण.
Also चा. नी. २, वृ. चा. ८.१२, चा. सा. १.६६, CPS 354.1, वररुचि-नीतिरत्न ४, शा. प. २०१, सु.र.भा. ३८.१, संस्कृ. ५३, सु. १०१, IS 3876.

१.११४.१ पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 33, PTem II. 33) चैव हितोपदेश १.७३ : नास्ति जात्य रि° चैव न कश्चित् कस्यचिन्,

Also महाभारत १२.१३८,१३६; १२.१४०.५१, चा. नी. २१, चा. सा. १. ७०, चा. रा. ७.१, चा. नी. (CNG 133, CNB 20), CPS 176. 3, सु. व. २६५६, सु. र. भा. १६७.३४६, IS 3671 & 3189. cf. Ru 97.

१.११४.४६ विक्रमचरित (VCsr 5. 2 [cf. VII. 8], VCmr 5. 38-9, VCjr VII. 1) (तु° पञ्चतन्त्र [PP 1. 52, PTu 1. 45, शुकसप्तति [Śts 5. 5, ŚtsM 5. 6) ; चरित्रे योषितां पूर्णे.

Also see महाभारत ५. ३६, ५७.

शब्द-भार्या पञ्चतन्त्र (PP IV. 44, Pts IV 83, PtsK IV 54, PM III 53 & IV 55) माता यस्य गृहे.

Also महाभारत १२.१४४, १७, चा नी. ४२, CPS 271. 21, सु. र. भा. ३८९.५०२ च १६१.३७८, सु. १०२, IS 5387.

शब्द-भार्या (III. 501) पञ्चतन्त्र (PP III. 130, Pts IV. 81, PtsK III. 152, PM III. 52 & IV. 54) : न गृहं गृहमित्या°.

Also सु र.भा. ३५०.६, सु. २८.१०, IS 3220.

पद्मपुराण

उत्तरखण्ड १७.८ पञ्चतन्त्र (PP IV. 36, Pts IV. 40, PtsK IV. 42, PM IV. 28) : अकृत्यं नैव कृत्यं.

Also see चा.सा. २ ६८, सु.र.भा. ३६५.५३५, IS 40.

भागवतपुराण

४.१४.९ पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 389, PtsK I. 434), हितोपदेश ३.४ : उपदेशो हि मूर्खाणां

Also भर्तृ. ४३१, वृ.चा. ४.१७, चा.नी. (CNW 73, CNN 55, CNP II. 153, CNI I. 85, CNG 142, CNT IV. 141, CNM 139, CNMN 105, CNŚC 107, CNŚ1 107, CNL 5, CnT II. 19.8, CnT III, 52.3, Cnt VIII. 88, CnT I. 36), शा.प. ४१८, सु.र.भा. ३८.४, सु.सु. २३.२१, सु.र. ३६.२४, सु. १५१ (तु° १७६), सूक्त. १३ B ८, IS 1287. Cf. ShD(T) 239. cf. JSAIL 24.121.

६.१.४५ पञ्चतन्त्र (PT II. 5, Ptem I'. 5, PS II. 3, PN I. 3, PP II. 12, Pts II. 17, PtsK II. 18, PRE II. 3, PM II. 5), हितोपदेश १.४१) चैव पञ्चतन्त्र (PP II. 12, Pts II. 75, PtsK II. 79, PPY 71(–) वेताल° २४ (p. 203), प्रथ° यस्याच येन च; द्वि° यस्मिन्देशे च क°.

Also प्रथ°: भर्तृ ६७६, सु. र. भा. ६२.७१, सु. र. ७६.४, सु. सू. ८.२०, IS 5343. cf. Ru 90. द्वि° चा.रा. (CRCa II. 25), महाभारत १२.१८१.१०; १२ ३२२.१०, गरुडपुराण १.११३.१८, सु र भा. १५५.८८, सु सू. ८.२८, सु.र. २२४.३०, IS 5351.

७.२.४० हितोपदेश २.१५-१६ (तु° विक्रमचरित [VCSr 14.9]: नाकाले म्रियतेज° चैव अरक्षितं तिष्ठति. (तु° पञ्चतन्त्र [PT II. 113, PTem 2. 102, PS II. 63, PN I. 62, PP V. 53, Pts V. 11, PRE II. 68] हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना २९ चैव ४.९).

Also: प्रथ° महाभारत १३.१६३.११, पञ्चरात्र १.३.२०, चा. रा. ६.४१ (तु° ६.४२), चा.नी. (CNG 232) CPS 157.64, सु.र.भा. १६०.३०१, घटकर्परीय नीतिसार १६, IS 3595. Cf. SS (OJ) 383, cf. JSAIL 24.127; 30.130. द्वि° पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 20 & I. 323 & V. 44, PtsK I. 24, विक्रमचरित (VCSr 14.9), भर्तृ. ३७८, नवरत्न १.४८, सु.र.भा. ६१.४७, शा.प. ४४६, सु.र. ७२.२६, सू. ५६.५५, IS 567.

७.१२.९ हितोपदेश १.१२७, वेताल° Intr १ चैव ३.१०: घृतकुम्भसमा नारी.

Also चा. नी. ७५ (तु° CNP II. 263), पद्मपुराण, सृष्टिखण्ड ५४.२१, सु.र.भा. १६२.४०८, IS 2217. Cf. SS (OJ) 439, cf. JSAIL 24.79.

१०.१.३८ पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts I. 419), मृत्योर्बिभेषि किं बाल.

Also सु. र. भा. ३७५.२३५, IS 4958. (तु° शा.प. ४१७२, सु. व. ३२९५).

१०.४६.२० हितोपदेश ४.७६ : नायमत्यन्तसंवासो.

Also महाभारत १२.२८.६२, IS 3613. Cf. SS (OJ) 493.

भाष्य

६.१०.३३ पञ्चतन्त्र (PtsK I. 345) ; द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ.

Also महाभारत ५.३२.५९, प्र. ११.८, IS 3012.

मत्स्यपुराण

२१७.८-१३ हितोपदेश ३.५५ : दुर्गं कुर्यान्महत्खात°.
Also IS 2842. (तु° कामन्दकीय नीतिसार ४.५७, मानवधर्मशास्त्र ७.७०-७१, विष्णुस्मृति ३.६, शुक्रनीतिसार ४.६.१-२).

२२०.१९ हितोपदेश ३.१४६ (cf HS *ad* p. 147) ; स्वाम्यमात्यश्च रा° (तु° कामन्दकीय नीतिसार ४.१ ; १.१६ च ८.४, कौटिलीय अर्थशास्त्र २५७.११, शुक्रनीतिसार १.६१, नीतिवाक्यामृत ६२, मानवधर्मशास्त्र ९.२९४, याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति १.३५३, विष्णुस्मृति ३.३३, अग्निपुराण २३८, शा.प. १४०७, सु.र.भा. १५०.३१७).

२२४.१-८ हितोपदेश ३.४२ (ad HS III. 40) चैव ३.४३ : प्रथ° विजेतुं प्रयतेतारिन् ; द्वि° चैव साम्ना दानेन भेदेन.
Also मानवधर्मशास्त्र ७.१९८-१९९. (तु° कामन्दकीय नीतिसार ९.५९-६०, ७४ ; १०.३२ ; १९.१५, सु.र.भा. १४८.२३०-२३१, सू. १५१.७). Cf. RN (P) 111: Cf. JSA1L 25.42 (निबन्ध).

२४०.२०-१ हितोपदेश ३.७७ : हस्तिनां गमनं प्रो०
(तु° कामन्दकीय नीतिसार १९.३६) Also IS 7378.

वीरमित्रोदय राजनीति प्रकाश २०३ हितोपदेश ३.५४ : अदुर्गविषयः कस्य.
Also सु.र.भा. १४३.६४, IS 193. (तु° कामन्दकीय नीतिसार ४.५८).

सु.र.भा. हितोपदेश प्रस्तावना ४ : सर्वद्रव्येषु विद्यैव.
२९.३ (?) Also सु. र. ४३.६, सु. र. भा. २.९३, IS 6928. Cf. LN(P) 4, NKy(B) 7, DhN(P) 14.

III. Not identified verses attributed in *Kathā* works to a Purāṇa :

विक्रमचरित

VCsr 13. 1. अनित्यानि शरीराणि विभवो नैव शाश्वतः ।
नित्यं संनिहितो मृत्युः कर्तव्यो धर्मसंग्रहः ॥
Also found in VCsr 28.3, VCmr 28.75 VCjr 23.2, PtsK 3.96, वेताल° १०.३ च १५.६, पञ्चतन्त्र (PM III. 34), चा.नो.द. १२.१२. चा. नी.

"T" (CnT II. 13.10, CnT III. 7.57, CnT V. 92), CPS 302. 31, सु १६१, IS 292.

VCsr 13. 2. श्रूयतां धर्मसर्वस्वं यदुक्तं शास्त्रकोटिभिः ।
परोपकारः पुण्याय पापाय परपीडनम् ॥

Also found in पञ्चतन्त्र (Pts III 103, PtsK III. 134; तु° PD 302. 39), (तु° वेताल° १०.२, महाभारत [Poona ed.] ५.३६, ५७ च १३.११३, ८), IS 6178.

VCsr 13 3. यो दुःखितानि भूतानि दृष्ट्वा भवति दुःखितः ।
सुखितानि सुखी चापि स धर्मं वेद नैष्ठिकम् ॥

Also found in IS 5595.

VCsr 13.4. नातो भूयांस्ततो धर्मः कश्चिदन्योऽस्ति देहिनाम् ।
प्राणिनां भयभीतानाम् अभयं यः प्रयच्छति ॥

VCsr 13.5. परमेकस्य सत्त्वस्य प्रदातुर्जीवितं वरम् ।
न च विप्रसहस्रेभ्यो गोसहस्रं दिने-दिने ॥

Also found in IS 3934.

VCsr 13.6. अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो यो ददाति दयापरः ।
तस्य देहविमुक्तस्य क्षय एव न विद्यते ॥

Also found in IS 485, (तु° महाभारत (Cit. ed.) १३.११६, २३; (Poona ed) १२.१८५, ४; १२.२३६, २६; मानवधर्मशास्त्र ६.२८. Cf. SS (OJ) 150).

VCsr 13.7. हेमधेनुधरादीनां दातारः सुलभा भुवि ।
दुर्लभः पुरुषो लोके सर्वजीवदयापर. ॥

Also found in IS 7416.

VCsr 13.8: महतामपि यज्ञानां कालेन क्षीयते फलम् ।
दत्त्वाभयं प्रदानस्य क्षय एव न विद्यते ॥

Also found in IS 4742.

VCsr 13.9: दत्तमिष्टं तपस्तप्तं तीर्थयात्रा श्रुतं तथा ।
सर्वाण्यभयदानस्य कलां नार्हन्ति षोडशीम् ॥

Also found in IS 2694.

VCsr 13.10 चतुःसागरपर्यन्तां यो दद्याद्वसुधामिमाम् ।
यश्चाभयं च भूतेभ्यस् तयोरभयदोऽधिकः ॥

Also found in IS 2232, शा. प. ४५५५.

VCsr 13.11 अध्रुवेण शरीरेण प्रतिक्षणविनाशिना ।
ध्रुवं यो नार्जयेद्धर्मं स शोच्यो मूढचेतनः ॥
Also found in IS 233, सू. २९.१०, सु.र.भा. ३८० १४७.

VCsr 13.12 यदि प्राण्युपकाराय देहोऽयं नोऽपयुज्यते ।
ततः किमुपकारोऽस्य प्रत्यहं क्रियते नृभिः ॥
Also found in IS 5225

VCsr 13.13 एकतः क्रतवः सर्वे समग्रवरदक्षिणाः ।
एकतो भयभीतस्य प्राणिन प्राणरक्षणम् ॥
Also found in VCsr VII. 5, पञ्चतन्त्र (PtsK 1.323), मध. १०६, वेताल° १९.६, सू. १६८.१, IS 1359.

PX I. 26 आयुर्वित्तं गृहच्छिद्रं मन्त्रमैथुनभेषजम् ।
अपमानस्तपो दानं नव गोप्यानि यत्नतः ॥
Also found in हितोपदेश १.१३६, विक्रमचरित (VCsr VIII. 2 & 10. 3, VCmr VIII 42-3), पञ्चतन्त्र (PX 1.26 [ZDMG 61.40]), मध ८३, चा.नी. CNF 76, CNN 24) सु.र भा. १५७.१६७, IS 998, शब्द-गौप्य. (cf. ZDMG 61. 40, JAOS 35. 11).

Śto 62.1 See above भविष्यपुराण (last entry).
Attributed to भविष्य-पुराण.

THE STORY OF ŚUKA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND THE PURĀṆAS : A COMPARATIVE STUDY.

By

V. M. BEDEKAR

[व्यासपुत्रस्य शुकस्योपाख्यानं महाभारते (शान्तिपर्वणि, ३१०-३२० अध्यायेषु) नारदीयपुराणे (पूर्वभागे ५८-६२ अध्यायेषु) देवीभागवते प्रथमस्कन्धे च वर्त्तते। महाभारतस्य मोक्षधर्मपर्वणि एतदाख्यानं वर्त्तते। तत्र भीष्मो वक्ता युधिष्ठिरश्च श्रोता। नारदीयपुराणस्याख्याने सनन्दनो वक्ता नारदश्च श्रोता। देवीभागवते च सूतो वक्ता शौनकादयो ऋषयश्च श्रोतारः। अस्याख्यानस्य श्लोकाना संख्या महाभारते ४८?, नारदीयपुराणे ३४०, देवीभागवते च ४८६ विद्यते। नारदीयपुराणोक्तं शुकोपाख्यानं प्रायेण महाभारतोक्तमुपाख्यानमेवानुसरति। परन्तु केषुचित् स्थलेषु नारदीयपुराणे महाभारतोक्तं शुकाख्यान संक्षिप्तम्, अत एव नारदीयपुराणे अस्याख्यानस्य श्लोकसख्या महाभारतश्लोक-संख्याऽपेक्षया न्यूनतरा वर्त्तते।

अस्मिन् निबन्धे शुकोपाख्यानस्य षड् भागान् विधाय तानाश्रित्य पूर्वोक्तेषु त्रिषु ग्रन्थेषु प्रोक्तस्य शुकोपाख्यानस्य तुलनात्मकमध्ययनमत्र प्रस्तुतम्। पुत्रप्राप्तये व्यासस्य तपः शिवाद् वरप्राप्ति च वर्णयित्वा शुकस्य जन्म तस्य वैराग्यादि च सविस्तरं वर्णितम्। एषु त्रिषु ग्रंथेषु शुकोपाख्याने यत्किंचिद्भेदो वर्त्तते सोऽप्यत्र स्पष्टीकृतः। विदुषा निबन्धकारेण अन्याभिश्चोपयोगिनीभिः टिप्पणीभिरयं निबन्धः सनाथीकृतः। महाभारतनारदीयपुराणदेवीभागवताना च निर्माणकालविषयेऽप्यत्र विचारं कृत्वा नारदीयपुराणस्य संकलनरूपत्वं प्रदर्शितम्। यच्च देवीभागवते शुकस्य विवाहो गृहाश्रमस्वीकरणं तत्तु शक्तिप्रभावं द्योतयितुमिति लेखकस्य मतम्।]

Śuka or Śukācārya is one of the rarest and most daring creations of Indian Epic and Purāṇic mythology. Incarnating the ideal of extreme renunciation, he represents the restlessness or the divine discontent of the human spirit which, profoundly dissatisfied with worldy things, sets itself in quest of higher realms of thought, feeling and action and seeks satisfaction in reaching out and merging into the Infinite. The life-story of Śuka narrated

in the epic and Purāṇic works is remarkable for the touches which illuminate the hidden recesses of the human mind and spirit.

The Life-story of Śuka is found narrated in the following works :

(i) Mahābhārata (*MB*) (critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona) XII. chapters 310-320.—Total no. of verses 481.

(ii) Nāradīya Purāṇa (*NP*) (published by Khemarāja Śrīkṛṣṇadāsa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, Śaka 1845) I. chap. 50. verses 3-9 ; chapters 58-59-60-61-62.—Total No. of verses 340.

(iii) Devī-Bhāgavata (*DB*) (printed in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press with the commentary *Tilaka* of Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha. Śake 1789) I. chapters 4, 10 ; 14-15-16-17-18-19. 1-59.—Total no. of verses 486.

The *MB*, has 18 Books (Parvans) of which the XIIth. Book in its last section called the Mokṣadharma is devoted to the discourses on philosophical topics. The story of Śuka appears in the Mokṣadharma-parvan, where Bhīṣma narrates it to Yudhiṣṭhira in answer to the latter's query. Regarding the date of the MB., it has been generally agreed that the MB must have assumed its present form by 400 A. D.

The *NP* is divided into two parts, the former (*Pūrva-Bhāga*, NP I) consists of 125 chapters and the latter (*Uttara-Bhāga*), of 82 chapters. The story of Śuka appears in the Pūrva-Bhāga, the sage Sanandana telling the story to Nārada in answer to the latter's request. It should be pointed out that the overwhelming bulk of the verses in the chapters of the *NP* narrating the story of Śuka are identical with those in the *MB*. There are only slight variations which have been already pointed out in Appendix II No. 7 (p. 2139ff) in the critical edition of the *MB*. The *NP* version of the story of Śuka has abridged the narrative in certain parts ; that is why the number of the verses in the *NP* version, though almost identical with those in the *MB* version is less than the latter by 141. The *NP* is acknowledged to be more a compi-

lation than an original work.[1] In consonance with its character of a compilation, the *NP* appears to have compiled the text of the story of Śuka which is identical with that appearing in the *MB*. Regarding the date of the *NP* it is estimated that it was compiled between 700 and 1000 A. D.[2]

The *DB* is divided into 12 Skandhas or Books. The story of Śuka appears in Book I in chapters mentioned above in which Sūta narrates the story to the sages in answer to their query. The *DB* narrates the story according to its own bias, the overwhelming bulk of the verses being different from those in the *MB* and the *NP*, though a few halves of the verses are identical with the halves of the verses in the *MB*.[3] The *DB* is a Śākta work praising Devī as the highest deity. It is much younger than the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. It is highly probable that *DB* was compiled in the eleventh or the 12th century A. D.[4]

After these preliminary remarks regarding the character and the age of the works in which the story of Śuka appears, there now follows a comparative study of the life-story of Śuka as it is developed in these works, i. e. *MB*, *NP* and the *DB*. In order that the similarities and differences should be clearly marked out, the story is presented below as divided into Six main heads, each of these main heads being again subdivided into subheads indicating development of the story from one stage to another. It is hoped that such a narration of the story by parts without breaking its continuity would help to highlight the similarities and the differences which appear in the three works. At the end of the subhead in the narration of the story, there are inserted the writer's *notes* which, it is hoped, will be found useful, as summing up the implications of the similarities and differences relevant at the particular stage of the story.

1. See 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' by R. C. Hazra, M A. Ph. D. (1940), pp. 127-133.
2. See Mm. P. V. Kane 'History of the Dharmaśāstra' Vol V. Part II p. 892. Hazra (op. cit. p. 132) puts the earlier limit at 875 A. D.
3. See R.C. Hazra 'Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas' Vol. II (Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1963) p 341 where some identical verses are pointed out.
4. See R. C. Hazra, op. cit. pp. 341-347.

The Life-story of Śuka

I. Inroducing the story

MB XII. 310 1-10

Yudhiṣṭhira, after hearing the discourse of Vyāsa to his son Śuka as narrated by Bhīṣma in the preceding Adhyāya (309) according to which Śuka filled with disgust towards the world renounced it and went in quest of Mokṣa, again asked Bhīṣma about the life story of Śuka : "How was Śuka born ? Who was his mother ? How did he get inclined towards seeking the knowledge of the Absolute ? Please tell me about his characteristic greatness, about his Yogic power by which he got united with the Ātman and also about his knowledge." Bhiṣma replied :[5] "A man is not great on account of his age, wealth or relatives. He is great if he is *'anūcāna'* i. e. adept in the knowledge of the Vedas with their auxiliary parts. What you are asking is rooted in a life of austerities (Tapas) which requires the control of the senses, i. e. Yoga. Even a fraction of fruit acquired by Yoga is superior to that acquired by performing a thousand Aśvamedha or a hundred Vājapeya sacrifices. In this connection, I shall narrate to you the story of the birth of Śuka, of his Yoga and of his highest achievement—which is hardly known to uncultured persons". Then Bhīṣma goes on to narrate the story.

According to Bhīṣma, therefore, the life story of Śuka embodies the highest achievements which the knowledge of the Vedas with their auxiliary parts, the practice of Tapas and Yoga can help one to attain.

न हायनैर्न पलितैर्न वित्तेन न बन्धुभिः ।
ऋषयश्चक्रिरे धर्मं योऽनूचानः स नो महान् ॥ 6 ॥
तपोमूलमिदं सर्वं यन्मां पृच्छसि पाण्डव ।
तदिन्द्रियाणि संयम्य तपो भवति नान्यथा ॥ 7 ॥
अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य वाजपेयशतस्य च ।
योगस्य कलया तात न तुल्यं विद्यते फलम् ॥ 9 ॥ MB XII. 310

NP I. 50. 3-9
58. 1-2 ab

Nārada requests the sage Sanandana to tell him the life-story of Śuka: "It is said that Śuka, full of inward and outward detachment, attained the highest fulfilment. How did Śuka, even as a child, attain such knowledge? Please tell me the secret of his life." Sanandana replied[6]: "I shall tell you briefly the birth-story of Śuka. Man is not great on account of his age, wealth or relatives. He is great if he is *Anūcāna*, i. e. if he knows the Vedas with their auxiliary parts." At this point Nārada asks Sanandana to explain to him the characteristics of Anūcāna and Sanandana explains them by describing six auxiliary branches of knowledge of the Vedas (*Ṣaḍaṅgāni*). This description occupies 7 chapters (I. 51-57) of the *NP*. In the beginning of 1.58, Nārada harking back to his original request, again says to Sanandana: "I have learnt about all the auxiliary branches of knowledge of the Vedas as an explanation of the term 'Anūcāna.' Now tell me about the birth-story of Śuka"; and Sanandana immediately begins the story.

DB I. 3. 36-38 and I. 4. 1-3

Sūta said to Śaunaka and other sages of the Naimiṣa forest that Dvaipāyana Vyāsa narrated the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa to his son Śuka who was not born of a woman (*ayonija*) but was begot from a fire-wood (*araṇi*). The sages told Sūta that they were greatly intrigued by his statement that Śuka was not born of a woman but that he was begot from firewood. So they requested him to narrate the story of Śuka's birth. Sūta accordingly begins his narration.

Note: It will be clear from the above summaries that the interlocutors and the narrators of the life story of Śuka are

[6] न हायनैर्न पलितैर्न वित्तेन न बन्धुभिः ।
ऋषयश्चक्रिरे धर्मं योऽनूचानः स नो महान् ॥ 7 ॥
शृणु नारद वक्ष्यामि ह्यनूचानस्य लक्षणम् ।
यज्ज्ञात्वा साङ्गवेदानामभिज्ञो जायते नरः ॥ 9 ॥ NP I. 50.

different in the three works. In the *MB* Bhīṣma narrates it to Yudhiṣṭhira and in the *NP* Sanandana to Nārada in order to satisfy their curiosity and wonder at Śuka's attainment of life's fulfilment through detachment and knowlede. In the *DB* Sūta narrates it to the sages who are interested in Śuka as the recipient of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa and want to know about his superhuman birth.

II. The Birth of Śuka. His Childhood.

(a) *Vyāsa actuated by the desire to have a son propitiates Mahādeva Umāpati by austere penance.*

MB XII. 310. 11-29

(Bhīṣma continues his narration to Yudhiṣṭhira)

Vyāsa, driven by the desire to have a son, practised Yogic austerities on the peak of the Meru mountain where lived Mahādeva and his queen Umā. The sage lived on air for a hundred years and yet he remained fresh and full of vitality, 'to the dismay of all the three worlds.' The Lord Tryambaka, pleased with Vyāsa's supremely austere penance, appeared before him and said: "You will have a son as great and as pure as fire, air, water, earth and the sky, the great Elements of Nature. He will think and contemplate about their nature, and will become their inmost being".[7]

NP I. 58. 3-17

The part of the story is narrated by Sanandana to Nārada in verses identical with the *MB*.

DB I. 4. 4-65 ; 10. 1-22

Vyāsa happened to see on the bank of the Sarasvatī, a pair of sparrows fondling their young one. This sight made him uneasy at the thought of his having no son. He therefore, went

7. यथा ह्यग्निर्यथा वायुर्यथा भूमिर्यथा जलम् ।
यथा च खं तथा शुद्धो भविष्यति सुतो महान् ॥ 28 ॥
तद्भावभावी तद्बुद्धिस्तदात्मा तदुपाश्रयः ॥ 29 ॥ MB XII. 310

to the slopes of the Meru mountain to practise penance. He could not, however, make up his mind as to which god Viṣṇu or Rudra he should propitiate for getting a son. At that time Nārada appeared before him and advised him to propitiate Devī, as he (Nārada) had learnt from his father Brahmadeva that it was the Śakti or the female power who was supreme, even Vāsudeva the Lord being dependent on her.[8] Vyāsa according to Nārada's advice, practised penance on the peak of the Meru mountain to propitiate Devī or Mahāmāyā, as also Mahādeva and his Devī consort Sadāśivā, in order to get a son. The extremely severe penance which Vyāsa practised struck terror into the heart of Indra. Indra went to Rudra who comforted him by declaring that he would fulfil the wish of Vyāsa. Accordingly Rudra went to Vyāsa and blessed him by saying: "You will have a son who will be pious and full of the purest qualities." Thus blessed by the boon of Śiva, Vyāsa returned to his hermitage.

Note—In the *MB* and the *NP*, though the interlocutors Yudhiṣṭhira and Nārada and the narrators Bhiṣma and Sanandana are respectively different. the content and the wording of the story are identical. In the the *DB*, though the story is essentially the same, the wording is quite different. Besides, the *DB* introduces some additional strands into the story. For instance, the episode of a pair of sparrows fondling their young one appears to have been introduced to explain the awakening of the desire in Vyāsa to have a son. Again, in consonance with its avowed object of glorifying the female element in creation, the *DB* makes Vāsudeva and Vyāsa meditate on Śakti—the supreme female power in creation.

8. (हरिराह)—

तस्मान्नाहं स्वतंत्रोऽस्मि शक्त्यधीनोऽस्मि सर्वथा ।
तामेव शक्तिं सततं ध्यायामि च निरन्तरम् ॥ 61 ॥

....

असंशयं हृदम्भोजे भज देवीपदाम्बुजम् ।
सर्वं दास्यति सा देवी यद्यदिष्टं भवेत्तव ॥ 64 ॥ DB I. 4

(b) *Śuka is born*

MB XII. 311. 1–11

Vyāsa had now got a boon from Śiva that he would get a son. Once while he was rubbing firewood (*araṇi*) in order to produce fire, he happened to see a celestial damsel named Ghṛtācī. His heart was smitten with passionate desire at the sight of that beauty. Ghṛtācī at that moment assumed the form of a female parrot. Finding himself thwarted by the changed appearace of Ghṛtācī, the sage could hardly control his passion. His body perspired all over. Carried away by the physical charms of Ghṛtācī, he tried his best to control his mind. But the inevitable happened.[9] While he was rubbing wood to make fire, his vital seed fell on one piece of the firewood. While the firewood with the sage's vital seed was being rubbed, there kindled into life and was born Śuka like fire effulgent with lustre bearing the excellent features and complexion of his illustrious father.

NP I. 58. 18-27.

This part of the story appears in verses quite identical with those in the *MB* above.

DB I. 10. 23-36 ; 14. 1-12.

(Sūta continues to tell the story of Śuka to the Ṛṣis :) Vyāsa while rubbing the firewood to produce fire, furiously thought of getting a son. While he anxiously thought as to how he would be able to get a young wife who would beget him a son, he happened to see the celestial damsel Ghṛtācī. On seeing her, his heart was smitten with the darts of love and he thought to himself : "In what a difficult predicament am I ? On the one hand, people will find fault with me for my being the helpless victim of a deproved passion ! On the other hand, the life of a householder

9. स तामप्सरसं दृष्ट्वा रूपेणान्येन संवृताम् ।
शरीरजेनानुगतः सर्वगात्रातिगेन ह ॥ 5 ॥
न शशाक नियन्तुं तद् व्यासः प्रविसृतं मनः ।
भावित्वाच्चैव भावस्य घृताच्या वपुषा हृतः ॥ 6 ॥ MB XII. 31[1]

wedded to a worthy wife confers the fulfillment of the desire for a son and the joy of heaven and the bliss of Mokṣa thereafter on one who attains knowledge. But such fulfillment and joy can not be had from this celestial damsel who is a courtezan of the gods.[10] For, I have heard from Nārada that the king Purūravas came to grief through his affair with divine courtezan Urvaśī," [Here the *DB* in the chapters I. 12 and 13 narrates the story of Urvaśī and Purūravas]. While Vyāsa was engrossed in these thoughts at the sight of Ghṛtācī, the latter got frightened at the sight of the moody sage and assuming the form of a female parrot, got away from his presence. Vyāsa tingling with passion, could not control his perturbed mind and could not avoid the inevitable.[11] While he was rubbing the firewood in order to produce fire, his vital seed suddenly fell on the firewood. Without heeding it, he went on rubbing that firewood whence was born Śuka handsome like Vyāsa and effulgent like the kindled sacrificial fire.

Note—The story except for the interlocutors and the narrators told in the *MB* and the *NP* is identical in extent, words and meaning. In the *DB*, the story is essentially the same, some situations receiving amplification and explanation at the hands of the author, e. g. the thoughts of Vyāsa regarding the blessings of a householder's life blessed with a son reflect and explain his fervent desire to have a son. So also the *DB* provides an explanation as to why Ghṛtācī turned herself into a parrot : She was frightened at the sight of the moody sage and turned herself into a parrot in order to escape his presence and wrath.

(c) Endowed with divine gifts, Śuka completes his studies and discovers his ideal of Mokṣa.

MB XII. 311. 12-27 ; 312. 1-12

The birth of Śuka was hailed with great joy by the denizens

10. गृहस्थाश्रमसंभूतं सुखदं पुत्रकामदम् ।
स्वर्गदं च तथा प्रोक्तं ज्ञानिनां मोक्षदं तथा ॥ 35 ॥
न भविष्यति तन्नूनमनया देवकन्यया ॥ 36 ॥ DB. I. 10

11. न शशाक नियन्तुं च व्यासः प्रविसृतं मनः ॥ 5 ॥
बहुशो गृह्यमाणं च घृताच्या मोहितं मनः ।
भावित्वान्नैव विधृतं व्यासस्यामिततेजसः ॥ 6 ॥ Ibid I. 14.
cf. *MB* in footnote 9 above

of heaven and by the world. The divine hosts of Gandharvas and Apsarasas gave music and dance. There were showers of flowers from heaven. Śuka, even as a child, was provided by divine beings with requisites which a Brahmacārin (a student) requires A divine staff (Daṇḍa) and loving cloth of dark hide (Kṛṣṇājina) fell before him from heaven. Indra, the lord of the gods, gave him a water-pot (Kamaṇḍalu) and other divine apparel[12]. The divine river Gaṅgā incarnate appeared before him and provided him ablution. The great Lord Mahādeva himself with his divine consort performed his Upanayana and initiated him into student's life. The Vedas, with all their esoteric teachings were ready at his beck and call. He chose Bṛhaspati (the preceptor of the gods) as his preceptor and even as a child learnt all the Vedas, history, and other branches of knowledge such as the government of the kingdom, in all their entirety and by his knowledge and penance won esteem and regard of the sages and the divinities. But his mind took no delight in the duties of the first three stages of life which are based on the householder's life.[13] His vision was fixed on the duties and the way of life which are meant to lead to Mokṣa. He therefore approached his father and said : "Please instruct me as to what I should do to be enabled to attain Mokṣa, so that my mind would get the highest peace"[14]. Vyāsa first asked him to master the whole Yoga and Sāṁkhya. When Śuka had done it, Vyāsa asked him to approach Janaka, the King of Mithilā. "He will explain to you everything concerning Mokṣa. I officiate as chief priest at his sacrifice. He is proficient in the knowledge

12. अन्तरिक्षाच्च कौरव्य दण्डः कृष्णाजिनं च ह ।
पपात भुवि राजेन्द्र शुकस्यार्थे महात्मनः ॥ 13 ॥ MB XII. 311

13. न ह्यस्य रमते बुद्धिराश्रमेषु नराधिप ।
त्रिषु गार्हस्थ्यमूलेषु मोक्षधर्मानुदर्शिनः ॥ 27 ॥ MB XII. 311

14. स मोक्षमनुचिन्त्यैव शुकः पितरमभ्यगात् ।
प्राहाभिवाद्य च गुरुं श्रेयोर्थी विनयान्वितः ॥ 1 ॥
मोक्षधर्मेषु कुशलो भगवान् प्रब्रवीतु मे ।
यथा मे मनसः शान्तिः परमा संभवेत् प्रभो ॥ 2 ॥ MB XII. 312

which leads to Mokṣa. He will remove all your doubts. Do as he will ask you to do." Śuka, thus addressed by his father, left for Mithilā to see Janaka.

NP I. 58. 28-54

The part of the story narrated above appears in the *NP* in *identical verses* to almost the same extent.

DB I. 14. 13-70 ; 15. 1-67 ; 16. 1-61 ; 17. 1-10

The birth of Śuka was greeted with great joy by the Gandharvas, Apsarasas, and the gods. The requisite equipment of the Brahmacārin—viz. the staff, dark hide and waterpot fell from the sky for Śuka. Vyāsa performed his Upanayana. Śuka chose Bṛhaspati as his preceptor, learnt all the Vedas with their auxiliary parts and returned to his father. (This part of the story appearing here in a shorter form and in different words is mostly identical in content with the *MB*. In the following part, however, the *DB* gives quite a different slant to the content and the spirit of the story).

Vyāsa greeted Śuka with great affection and settled him at the hermitage. Anxious to get Śuka married, Vyāsa said to him : "You have studied all the Dharma-Śāstras. Now get married and enter into householder's stage of life. Beget a son and free me from the 'debt'. A man without a son has no future."[15] Then follows a long argument between the son and the father. Śuka put it to Vyāsa : "what happiness is there for a man who is enslaved by a woman ? The householder's life is a life of captivity.[16] What happiness is there in a life of captivity ?"[16] Vyāsa replied, defending the life of a householder : "A householder's

15. वेदोऽधीतस्त्वयानघ । धर्मशास्त्राणि सर्वाणि कुरु भार्यां महामते ॥ 27 ॥
ऋणान्मोचय मां पुत्र प्राप्य दारान् मनोरमान् ॥ 28 ॥
अपुत्रस्य गतिर्नास्ति स्वर्गो नैव च नैव च ॥ 29 ॥ DB I. 14.

16 स्त्रियं कृत्वा महाभाग भवामि तद्वशानुगः ।
सुखं किं परतन्त्रस्य स्त्रीजितस्य विशेषतः ॥ 37 ॥
…गृह्णाति पुरुषं यस्माद् गृहं तेन प्रकीर्तितम् ।
क्व सुखं बन्धनागारे तेन भीतोऽस्म्यहं पितः ॥ ibid

life is not prison house. Even a householder, who is free in mind, can get Deliverance. There is no higher duty than that of the Gṛhastha. One should gradually go from one stage of life to another. It is difficult to control the turbulent senses for one who has not taken to a wife. Therefore, do what I tell you in your own interest. Get married to a girl of a good family and follow the path laid down by the Vedas."[17] Śuka however, could not be persuaded. He replied to his father with counter-arguments : "The householder's worldy life is full of sorrows and is like a snare." Vyāsa trembled with pain, wept with sorrow and his mind was dejected at this resolute stand of Śuka. Seeing the pitiable condition of his father, Śuka replied with dismay : "I am simply bewildered to see that even the great Vyāsa—the promulgator of the Vedānta—has been deluded by the enticements of the mysterious Māyā of the world. As for me, the idea that I am bound and that I should get free from these bonds of worldly existence does not leave me."[18] Vyāsa then appealed to Śuka to study the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa which, he hoped, would impress on him the sovereign power of the Śakti or the Devī or the Lakṣmī—i. e. the sovereignty of the female element in Creation. It is said further on in the *DB* that Śuka studied the Purāṇa but did not attain the peace of mind which he so fervently

17. न गृहं बन्धनागारं बन्धने न च कारणम् ।
मनसा यो विनिर्मुक्तो गृहस्थोऽपि विमुच्यते ॥ 55 ॥
आश्रमादाश्रमं गच्छेदिति धर्मविदो विदुः ॥ 61 ॥
इन्द्रियाणि महाभाग मादकानि सुनिश्चितम् ।
अदारस्य दुरन्तानि पञ्चैव मनसा सह ॥ 64 ॥
तस्मात्त्वमपि कल्याणं कुरु मे वचनं हितम् ।
कुलजां कन्यकां वृत्वा वेदमार्गं समाश्रय ॥ 70 ॥ ibid

18. अहो मायाबलं चोग्रं यन्मोहयति पण्डितम् ।
वेदान्तस्य च कर्तारं सर्वज्ञं वेदसंमितम् ॥ 24 ॥
न जाने का च सा माया किंस्वित् सातीव दुष्करा ।
या मोहयति विद्वांसं व्यासं सत्यवतीसुतम् ॥ 26 ॥
बद्धोऽहमिति मे बुद्धिर्नापसर्पति चिन्ततः ॥ 45 ॥ DB I. 15.

wished. Seeing Śuka still restless, Vyāsa advised Śuka to approach Janaka of Mithilā. He said—"King Janaka is *Videha*[19] and Jīvana-mukta : While he leads his normal life of a king, he has transcended the weaknesses and temptations of the flesh and lives like one emancipated. He will remove your doubt and delusion and expound you the true reality." At this proposal and hearing the description of Janaka Śuka exclaimed : "Oh ! what a hypocrisy ! To say that a king rules his kingdom and at the same time has transcended the weaknesses of the flesh is a contradiction in terms like saying that the barren woman has a son.[20] How can he be said to be emancipated when as a king he experiences the pleasures and sorrows of worldly existence and has to live in and deal with inequalities? I have grave doubts how a king living a householder's life can attain the state of emancipation. I have a desire to see the king and get my doubts removed. I shall therefore, go to Mithilā." With these words, Śuka fell at the feet of his father and took his leave. Vyāsa while bidding him farewell said : "You are my very life. I shall feel miserable without you. After seeing Janaka and getting your doubts cleared by him you should return and stay here, devoting yourself to the study of the Vedas"; and Śuka then left for Mithilā to meet Janaka.

Note—While this part of the story is identical in extent and wording in the *MB* and the *NP*, it has been given a different orientation in the *DB*. In the *DB*, Vyāsa who had a desire for a son and eventually got a son, further champions the cause of the householder and persuades Śuka to get married and procreate progeny. Śuka, who wants to renounce the world and become a recluse, opposes Vyāsa who now proposes to him to see Janaka. Vyāsa probably hopes in this way to bring Śuka round to accept

19. There is a play on the word Videha. Janaka the king of the country of the Videhas is also said to be Videha ; one who has transcended the sense of physical existence.

20. दंभोऽयं किल धर्मात्मन् भाति चित्ते ममाधुना ।
जीवन्मुक्तो विदेहश्च राज्यशास्त्रे मुदान्वितः ॥50॥
वंध्यापुत्र इवाभाति राजासौ जनकः पितः ॥51॥ DB. I. 16

the life of a householder from the example of Janaka who being mentally detached, combines in himself the roles of the householder and the recluse. Śuka, however, is strongly in favour of renunciation. He can not believe that Janaka, a householder and a king, can be a *Videha* and Jīvanamukta.

III. Śuka's meeting with Janaka

(a) *Śuka's journey to Mithilā of Janaka and his reception at Janaka's court.*

MB XII. 312. 12-46 ; 313. 1-13.

Śuka flew over the mountains, the rivers and the forests, crossed many countries and cities and reached the country of Videha which was ruled by Janaka. While going through the country-side of Videha, he saw villages full of cows and settlements of cowherds, rich with corn, milk and food. He also saw on the way hundreds of ponds adorned with lotus plants. He reached the suburbs of Mithilā where there were parks full of elephants, horses and crowded with men and women. He at last arrived at the first outer gate of Mithilā. There he was first stopped by the gatekeeper. But he was allowed to enter when the gatekeeper found him deeply engrossed in meditation, and like one emancipated (mukta). While he walked on towards the palace, through the thoroughfare, another gatekeeper, struck by his dazzling splendour like that of the midday sun, ushered him into the hall beyond the second gate. There Śuka remained, full of repose and calm, his thoughts bent on Mokṣa alone, little heading his surroundings. Soon, the king's minister came and with folded hand, ushered him into the third chamber of the king's palace. Adjoining the chamber was a lovely garden with well-laid out bathing pools and flowering trees. The minister led Śuka into the garden, pointed him out a seat and went away. There Śuka seated himself and stayed the whole night. He was soon surrounded there by young beautiful courtezans clad in fine clothes and wearing golden ornaments. They danced, sang and frolicked about him with sweet amorous blandishments, offering him excellent bed with rich coverlet. But Śuka remained unmoved by all these tempta-

tions. In the midst of women, he practised yogic meditation in the first part of the night, slept soundly during the hours of midnight and wok up to practise yogic contemplation again during the last watches of the night. Then the next morning, king Janaka came to meet him along with his ministers. Led by the royal priest, Janaka approached Śuka, offered to Śuka high seat embellished with jewels and covered with rich coverlets, and presented him, with bowed head, worship including a cow. After mutual customary inquiries regarding health etc. were over, Śuka on being asked by Janaka the reason of his visit, told him that he was sent by his father and that he wanted to know from him the following :[21] "How is Mokṣa or Emancipation achieved ? By knowledge or or by penance ? By way of activism or renunciation?" Thereupon followed the discourse of Janaka.

NP I. 58. 54-72 ; 59. 1-10

The above part of the story, without some portions, is narrated in the *NP* in verses identical with those in the *MB*. The portions that are omitted include firstly verses relating to the account of the places on the way which Śuka is described in the *MB* to have seen during his journey to Mithilā, and secondly verses describing the reception which Śuka is described in the *MB* to have received from the gatekeepers and the courtezans. Thus the extent in the *NP* relating to this part of the story is less than that in the *MB* by about 18-19 verses. The omitted portion does not make any material change in the tenor of the story.

DB I. 17. 11-66 ; 18. 1-14

Śuka started on his journey to Mithilā and went fast as an arrow discharged from a bow. On his way he saw many countries with rich people, forests and ripe fields. He also beheld many yogins, and followers of the Śaiva, Pāśupata, Saura, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava Sects. When he entered Mithilā, he was accosted by the gatekeeper and was prevented from entering, until he knew who the newcomer was. Śuka replied : "I have come here to

21. किं कार्यं ब्राह्मणेनेह मोक्षार्थश्च किमात्मकः ।
कथं च मोक्षः कर्तव्यो ज्ञानेन तपसापि वा ।। *MB* XII. 313.13

see your king. As you are obstructing me, it appears that I was wrongly informed by my father. He told me that your king is really a Videha i. e. he has transcended the selfish considerations of the body and the mundane world. How does this claim of your king square with the obstruction that you now put against my entry, under his orders?"[22] The gate-keeper was impressed by the words of Śuka and requesting to be excused, allowed him to enter. Before moving further, Śuka gave a short discourse to the gatekeeper on the latter's request on worldly pleasures and sorrows, which he said, are due to greed and attachment for the things of the world. True happiness lies in contentment, he said.[23] Then Śuka walked unconcerned through the market places of Mithilā and finally entered the precincts of the palace. There also at the entrance he was obstructed by the gatekeeper ; but he stood still and in meditation until a minister of Janaka came and ushered him first into a palace-chamber and then into a garden adjoining the chamber. The courtezans, under the orders of the minister, attended on him, trying all their charms and blandishments. He was also taken to the special garden of the king's harem by the ladies of the harem who were struck and infatuated by his handsome form and mien. Women provided him with excellent bed covered with rich coverlets. But Śuka remained calm and unaffected. He considered them all as his mother. In the presence of them all, unperturbed, he practised meditation in the first part of the night, then slept soundly for the middle watches of the night; getting up and again practising contemplation during the last part. Then in the morning, king Janaka with his ministers went to see him. After receiving customary worship and inquiries from the king, Śuka disclosed the reason of his coming[24] : "My

22. अप्रवेशः पुरे जातो विदेहो नाम भूपतिः । DB I. 17.29

23. बन्धुः संतोष एवास्य नान्योऽस्ति भुवनत्रये ।। Ib. I. 17.47

24. व्यासेनोक्तो महाराज कुरु दारपरिग्रहम् ।
सर्वेषामाश्रमाणां च गृहस्थाश्रम उत्तमः ।। 6 ।।
मया नाङ्गीकृतं वाक्यं मत्वा बन्धं गुरोरपि ।
न बन्धोऽस्ति इति तेनोक्तो नाहं तत्कृतवान् पुनः ।। 7 ।। DB 1.18

father Vyāsa wants me to take to a wife, for according to him, the householder's stage of life is the best. I did not accept his view, for I think the householder's life is a great bondage. He has referred me to you. You, he says are a king and a ruler and yet are emancipated, not being bound by the bonds of mundane desires. I also wish to get emancipated. You will kindly instruct me as to what I should do." And Janaka began his discourse to Śuka.

Note—While this part of the story narrated in the *MB* and the *NP* is completely identical in wording and tenor, that in the *DB* is couched in a different wording with a longer account. The *DB* account introduces new elements of which more important are the following : Śuka sees the Yogins and the followers of various religious sects on his way to Mithilā. In his encounter with the gatekeeper of Mithilā, he is made to pass critical remarks on, what appear to him, the contradictions in the character of king Janaka and then he is also made to deliver a discourse to the gatekeeper on the latter's request. The account in the *DB*, though longer and containing additions, does not essentially detract from the spirit of the story. The longer account with additions looks, as if it is the expansion of the ideas contained in the *MB* and *NP* versions.

(b) *Janaka's discourse to Śuka*

MB XII. 313. 14-51 ; 314. 1-2.

The following is the summary of the main point in the discourse. Janaka said : "To get the state of emancipation, a man should order his life and live gradually and progressively through the four stages of life (Āśramas)—Brahmacarya, Gārhasthya, Vanyāśrama (i. e. Vānaprastha) and finally Brahmāśrama (i. e. Sannyāsa) discharging the duties of every stage."[25] At this point Śuka intervened and asked : "If knowledge

25. पूर्वैराचरितो धर्मश्चातुराश्रम्यसंकथः ।। 24 ॥
अनेन क्रमयोगेन बहुजातिषु कर्मणा ।
कृत्वा शुभाशुभं कर्म मोक्षो नामेह लभ्यते ।। 25 ॥ MB XII. 313

which is essential for the state of emancipation arises in a man's mind, is it still necessary for him to live through all the customary Āśramas of life?—This is my problem."[26] Janaka replied:[27] "The traditional religious code of the four āśramas is meant to preserve the uninterrupted continuity of society and of activities essential to it. One whose mind has become purified can attain the state of emancipation even in his youth in this first āśrama i. e. stage of life. For him the remaining three Āśramas have no meaning. The 'Light' is within and can be visualized by one who has equanimity. One who does not bear ill in thought, word

26. उत्पन्ने ज्ञानविज्ञाने प्रत्यक्षे हृदि शाश्वते ।
किमवश्यं निवस्तव्यमाश्रमेषु वनेषु वा ॥ 20 ॥

27. अनुच्छेदाय लोकानामनुच्छेदाय कर्मणाम् ।
पूर्वैराचरितो धर्मः चातुराश्रम्यसंकथः ॥ 24 ॥

... ...

आसादयति शुद्धात्मा मोक्षं वै प्रथमाश्रमे ॥ 26 ॥
तमासाद्य तु मुक्तस्य दृष्टार्थस्य विपश्चितः ।
त्रिष्वाश्रमेषु को न्वर्थो भवेत्परमभीप्सतः ॥ 27 ॥

... ...

ज्योतिरात्मनि नान्यत्र रतं तत्रैव चैव यत् ।
स्वयं च शक्यं तद्द्रष्टुं सुसमाहितचेतसा ॥ 32 ॥

....

यदा न कुरुते भावं सर्वभूतेषु पापकम् ।
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा ब्रह्म संपद्यते तदा ॥ 34 ॥
त्यक्त्वा कामं च मोहं च ततो ब्रह्मत्वमश्नुते ॥ 35 ॥
एतत्सर्वं प्रपश्यामि त्वयि बुद्धिमतां वर ।
यच्चान्यदपि वेत्तव्यं तत्त्वतो वेद तद् भवान् ॥ 41 ॥
व्यवसायेन शुद्धेन मद्विधैश्छिन्नसंशयः ।
विमुच्य हृदयग्रन्थीनासादयति तां गतिम् ॥ 46 ॥

... .

अहं च त्वानुपश्यामि ये चाप्यन्ये मनीषिणः ।
आस्थितं परमं मार्गमक्षयं तमनामयम् ॥ 50 ॥
यत्फलं ब्राह्मणस्येह मोक्षार्थश्च यदात्मकः ।
तस्मिन्वै वर्तसे विप्र किमन्यत् परिपृच्छसि ॥ 51 ॥

complex knot of desires is difficult to cut at a stroke. It can be removed only gradually by living through the four stages of life. Even who lives a householder's life can get a state of emancipation if he lives a life of detachment. The states of bondage and emancipation are after all contingent on the state of the mind. One, whose mind is still, gets serene. Leading a life of duties prescribed by the Veda, in a spirit of detachment leads one to emancipation." At this point Śuka put in an objection :[31] "The duties prescribed by the Vedas include sacrifices which involve injury and violence. How can the discharge of such duties lead to emancipation ?" Janaka replied : "The injury or violence when done without self interest or attachment is tantamount to non-injury or non-violence."[32] Then Śuka put forth another doubt :[33] "How can a man living in the midst of temptations remain disinterested, detached and passionless ? While you are reigning as king, your desire for wealth, comfort and pleasure, and victory in battle is alive. How can you be, then, said to have attained the state of emanciption in this very life ? Your forefathers are reputed for their name of Videha i. e. the emancipated ones who have trans-

31. वेदधर्मेषु हिंसा स्यात् अधर्मबहुला हि सा ।
कथं मुक्तिप्रदो धर्मो वेदोक्तो बत भूपते ।।19 DB I. 18.

32. रागिणां सापि हिंसैव निस्पृहाणां न सा मता ।।59 DB I. 18.

33. संदेहोऽयं महाराज वर्तते हृदये मम ।
मायामध्ये वर्तमानः स कथं निस्पृहो भवेत् ।।1

....

वित्तषणा न ते शान्ता तथा राजसुखैषणा ।
जयैषणा च संग्रामे जीवन्मुक्तः कथं भवेः ।।5

... .

तव वंशोद्भवा ये ये श्रुताः पूर्वे मया नृपाः ।
विदेहा इति विख्याता नामतः कर्मतो न ते ।।20
निमिर्नामाभवद्राजा पूर्वं तव कुले नृप ।
यज्ञार्थं स तु राजर्षिर्वसिष्ठं स्वगुरुं मुनिम् ।।21
निमन्त्रयामास................. ।।22

....

अन्योन्यशापात् पतितौ तावेव च मया श्रुतम् ।।26
विदेहेन च राजेन्द्र कथं शप्तो गुरुः स्वयम् ।
विनोद इव मे चित्ते विभाति नृपसत्तम ।।27 DB I. 19.

cendend the temptations and weaknesses of the flesh. It is reported that one of your forbears named Nimi, out of anger, cursed his preceptor in return for the latter's curse. To call such a king 'emancipated' appears to me a joke! As for me, I[34] have resolved to lead a life of a recluse roaming from place to place. My mind is not interested in the home and in the wife. I shall roam like a deer without possessing any property, unaffected by pairs of opposites like pleasure and pain." Thereupon Janaka replied[35]: "You will fraternize with the deer, no doubt. But the properties of the Great Elements of which this body is composed prevail everywhere. One is always anxious to get food. Even a recluse like you—how can you get free from anxiety on that account? You are plagued by doubt. I am free from doubt. I have realized that I am not in bondage and that is why I am happy. The bondage consists in the belief that 'this body is mine', while freedom from this belief is emancipation. The same is applicable to the house, wealth and kingdom which, I have realized, are not mine." After hearing the discourses of Janaka, Śuka was pleased in mind. He took leave of Janaka and returned to the hermitage of Vyāsa.

Note—While the wording and the tenor of the questions of Śuka and the discourse of Janaka in reply to Śuka are identical in the *MB* and the *NP*, they undergo a change in the *DB*. The

34. न मेऽद्य रमते चित्तं गृहदारादिषु क्वचित् ।
एकाकी निस्पृहोऽत्यर्थं चरेयमिति मे मतिः ॥12॥
निःसंगो निर्ममः शान्तः पत्रमूलफलाशनः ।
मृगवद्विचरिष्यामि निर्द्वंद्वो निष्परिग्रहः ॥13॥ DB J. 19

35. मृगैः सह सुसंबंधो भविता ते न संशयः ॥29॥
महाभूतानि सर्वत्र निःसंगः क्व भविष्यसि ।
आहारार्थं सदा चिन्ता निश्चिन्तः स्याः कदा मुने ॥30॥
विकल्पोपहतस्त्वं वै दूरदेशमुपागतः ।
न मे विकल्पसंदेहो निर्विकल्पोऽस्मि सर्वथा ॥32॥
न बद्धोऽस्मीति बुद्ध्याहं सर्वदैव सुखी मुने ॥33॥
देहोऽयं मम बन्धोऽयं न ममेति च मुक्तता ।
तथा धनं गृहं राज्यं न ममेति च निश्चयः ॥35॥ DB I. 19

wording in the *DB* is completely different. So also, the tenor and the upshot of the discourse in the *DB*, are also radically different from those in the *MB*. In the *MB* and *NP* Janaka with his insistence on mental detachment or dispassion as the essential prerequisite for the state of emancipation, accepts Śuka's qualification for that state and allows him to be a recluse if he so chooses, without requiring him to pass through the graded stages of the three Āśramas. In the *DB*, however, Janaka, with equal insistence on the qualification required for the state of emancipation, implies his preference for stage of a householder with the requisite qualification. He attacks Śuka's belief that detachment or dispassion which is an indispensable prerequisite for emancipation is best attained in the life of a recluse only and insists that householder's life such as his own embodying the spirit of utmost detachment can be an adequate, if not a better, substitute for the life of a recluse.

IV. Śuka back at his father's place in the Himālaya

(a) *The description of the Himālaya*

MB XII. 314. 3-22

The Himālaya which was the abode of Vyāsa and to which Śuka now returned is described in some twenty verses: Himālaya is full of celestial damsels and kinnaras and echoes with the notes of their songs. It is full of various kinds of birds. It is frequented by the Eagle king of the birds and by the divine guardians of the quarters (Lokapālas). It was on the Himālaya that god Kumāra threw his missile (Śakti) which could not be moved by any god except Viṣṇu. It was on the side of the mountain that Mahādeva practised austere penance in a hermitage which, surrounded by flames of fire, was guarded by the god of fire himself.

NP, *DB* } Both omit the description of the Himālaya.

(b) *Śuka on arrival, finds Vyāsa engaged in teaching the Vedas to his four pupils.*

MB XII. 314. 23-49; 315. 1-10.

While Vyāsa was teaching the Vedas to his four pupils

named Sumantu, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Paila, he saw Śuka 'effulgent like the Sun', speeding to him like an arrow. Śuka bowed down at his father's feet and greeted the four pupils. He then reported with glad heart, the discourse he had heard from Janaka. Having heard him, Vyāsa in his hermitage in the Himālaya continued his teaching of the Vedas to the four pupils and Śuka also who had now joined them. One day, the four pupils, who had now completed the study of the Vedas, requested Vyāsa to grant them the following boon[36]: "We are four ; Your son is the fifth. It is our desire that the Vedas should find their abode or fountain head only in us five. Let there be no sixth pupil." Vyāsa replied : "You will be the fountainhead of the Vedas. Let the Veda be expanded by you. In so doing, you should see that only proper, righteous persons receive the Veda." The four pupils were glad to hear the words of their great preceptor and requested for his permission to descend to the world of men in order to extend and expand the Vedas. Vyāsa giving them permission warned them saying. "Beware ! never be heedless while teaching the Veda, for the Veda is liable to be grossly misunderstood." The four pupils bowed before him with their heads and with his permission descended on the earth where they employed in teaching the Veda and officiating at the sacrifices. After the four pupils had left, Vyāsa remained at the hermitage alone with his son Śuka, silent and in meditative mood.[37]

NP I. 59. 51-55 ; 60. 1.

This part of the story which occupies in the *MB* a space of 37 verses has been very much curtailed in the *NP*. The *NP* picking out identical words from the narrative of the *MB* makes a bare mention in about five verses of the following links in the story : Śuka, on arrival at the hermitage saw his father teaching

36. चत्वारस्ते वयं शिष्या गुरुपुत्रश्च पञ्चमः ।
इह वेदाः प्रतिष्ठेरन् एष नः काङ्क्षितो वरः ॥ MB XII. 314.38

37. अवतीर्णेषु शिष्येषु व्यासः पुत्रसहायवान् ।
तूष्णीं ध्यानपरो धीमानेकान्ते समुपाविशत् ॥ MB XII. 315.10

the Vedic Saṁhitās to Paila and others. On hearing from Śuka the report of his conversation with Janaka, Vyāsa with a glad heart, embraced his son and seated him beside himself. Then Paila and other pupils descended from the mountain on to the earth and devoted themselves to teaching Vedas and officiating at sacrifies. After the pupils had left, Vyāsa remained at the hermitage, silent and meditative alone in the company of his son.

DB I. 19. 40-43

The *DB* notes the arrival of Śuka and does not refer to the four pupils of Vyāsa. It gives quite a different turn to the story of Śuka. It is said in the *DB* that Śuka, on his arrival, was greeted affectionately by Vyāsa. He stayed there with his father, mastering the Vedas and other scriptures. Śuka had been impressed very favourably by the example of Janaka the householder and the king. While residing in the hermitage, he therefore married a beautiful girl named Pīvarī and begot four sons and one daughter. This daughter of Śuka named Kīrti was married to one Aṇuha and gave birth to a son named Brahmajña.

Note—It will be found that the *DB* effects a material change in this part of the story of Śuka. According to the *MB* and *NP*, Śuka, back from Janaka's court, fortified by Janaka's blessings, appears firm in his resolve for pursuing his ideal of Emancipation through renunciation; Śuka in the *DB* version, however, wishing to follow Janaka's example of attaining emancipation through activism, marries and takes to a house-holder's life.

(c) *Vyāsa's Discourse to Śuka on the Wind-system of the Cosmos.*

MB XII. 315. 11-57

While Vyāsa sat alone in his hermitage with his son in silent and meditative mood, Nārada went to him and said: "Why is there no sound here of the chanting and recitation of the Veda ? Why are you sitting so silent and thoughtful ? This mountain which does not echo to the recitation of the Veda looks ugly like the settlement

of barbarians".[38] Vyāsa explained to Nārada in reply that he had been seized by a gloomy mood since the departure of his four pupils.[39] Nārada, however, said: "The Vedas fall into disuse and become tainted if they are not recited. You should start reciting the Veda with your intelligent son." Accordingly Vyāsa began with his son the recitation of the Vedas in a loud voice, filling the surroundings with their properly accented resonances. While they were chanting the Vedas, their suddenly blew a tempestuous wind. Vyāsa immediately stopped his son from reciting, saying that it was the occasion to stop the study and the recitation (anadhyāya). Thereupon Śuka asked his father about the winds—whence they came and the way they behaved. Vyāsa admiring the curiosity of his son explained the system of winds that operated in the universe (verses 30-56). What he said is, in brief, as follows: "There are 'seven paths of the wind' which were named as Pravaha, Āvaha, Udvaha, Saṁvaha, Vivaha, Parivaha and Parāvaha. They operate as mighty winds blowing through the atmosphere outside and as breaths working in the human body. These winds are the wonderful sons of Aditi, never ceasing in their courses, all-penetrating and all-carrying. When the wind blows very violently, they do not recite the Veda. The sounds of Vedic words are afflicted by them".[40] Vyāsa, after furnishing his discourse, went to the heavenly Gaṅgā, leaving Śuka alone.

NP I. 60. 2-37

The above part of the story as narrated in the *MB* appears in identical verses in the *NP* except in the following detail: In the *MB* it was Nārada who visited Vyāsa and exhorted him to resume the recitation of the Vedas. In the *NP*, it is a 'disem-

38. ब्रह्मघोषैर्विरहितः पर्वतोऽयं न शोभते । 13
न भ्राजते यथापूर्वं निषादानामिवालयः । 14 MB XII 315
39. वियुक्तस्येह शिष्यैर्मे नातिहृष्टमिदं मनः । 19 Ib.
40. तस्माद् ब्रह्मविदो ब्रह्म नाधीयन्तेऽतिवायति ।
वायोर्वायुभयं ह्युक्तं ब्रह्म तत्पीडितं भवेत् ॥ 56 MB XII. 315

bodied voice' (aśarīriṇī Vāk) which exhorts Vyāsa to resume the recitation of the Veda, and this exhortation is abridged to about 3 verses as compared with that of Nārada in the *MB* which latter takes up about 12 verses.

DB does not mention this episode of Vyāsa's resuming the recitation of the Vedas and again stopping it at the appearance of the sudden gusts of wind. The above part of the story does not appear in the *DB*.

Note—That the part of the story in the *MB* appears in identical verses in the *NP*, with a difference only in respect of the personality of Nārada is already noted above under *NP*. The difference viz. that the *NP* substitutes 'disembodied voice' (aśarīriṇī Vāk) in place of Nārada can be explained by the fact that in the *NP* it is Nārada himself who is the interloculor asking Sanandana to tell him the story of Śuka. The author of this part of the story of Śuka in the *NP* who appears to have a version of the story identical with that in the *MB* wanted somebody to exhort Vyāsa to resume the recitation of the Veda which, being subsequently thwarted by the tempestuous winds, provided an occasion for introducing the discourse of Vyāsa to Śuka on the wind-system. Nārada being the interlocutor himself in the *NP* had to give way to somebody else—'a disembodied voice'.

(d) *Nārada's discourse to Śuka*

MB XII. 316. 1-59 ; 317. 1-30 ; 318. 1-45.

After Vyāsa had left for the heavenly Gaṅgā, Śuka was left alone in the hermitage. During that interval, Nārada met him and said to him : "What good can I accomplish for you ?" Śuka answered : "Please instruct me in what would be good to me in this world." Then Nārada said that what he would now tell him for his good was already told by the great Sanatkumāra previously to sages of old. With this prefatory remark, Nārada gave a discourse to Śuka. The following is the brief summary

of the discourse[41]: "There is no eye like knowledge, no sorrow like attachment, no happiness like renunciation. One who has renounced the fruit of all actions, who is desireless and possessionless, one who has renounced everything is the truly wise man. Non-possession, deep contentment, desirelessness, deliberation before action constitute the highest good. Possession is attended with harm. A silk-worm spinning his cocoon is enmeshed in his own possession. Men entangled in their sons, wives and family sink down into ruin like elephants sunk in the muddy soil of the lake.

41. तत्त्वं जिज्ञासतां पूर्वमृषीणां भावितात्मनाम् ।
सनत्कुमारो भगवानिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥ 5 ॥
नास्ति विद्यासमं चक्षुर्नास्ति विद्यासमं तपः ।
नास्ति रागसमं दुःखं नास्ति त्यागसमं सुखम् ॥ 6 ॥
....
सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी निराशीर्निष्परिग्रहः ।
येन सर्वं परित्यक्तं स विद्वान् स च पण्डितः ॥ 14 ॥
आकिंचन्यं सुसंतोषो निराशीष्ट्वम् अचापलम् ।
एतदाहुः परं श्रेयः आत्मज्ञस्य जितात्मनः ॥ 19 ॥
अलं परिग्रहेणेह दोषवान् हि परिग्रहः ।
कृमिर्हि कोशकारस्तु बध्यते स्वपरिग्रहात् ॥ 29 ॥
पुत्रदारकुटुम्बेषु सक्ताः सीदन्ति जन्तवः ।
सरःपङ्कार्णवे मग्ना जीर्णा वनगजा इव ॥ 30 ॥
निबन्धनी रज्जुरेषा या ग्रामे वसतो रतिः ।
छित्त्वैनां सुकृतो यान्ति नैनां छिन्दन्ति दुष्कृतः ॥ 37 ॥
जराशोकसमाविष्टं रोगायतनमातुरम् ।
रजस्वलमनित्यं च भूतावासमिमं त्यज ॥ 43 ॥
अनादिनिधनं जन्तुमात्मनि स्थितमव्ययम् ।
अकर्तारममूर्तं च भगवानाह तीर्थवित् ॥ 53 ॥ MB XII. 316
अन्तो नास्ति पिपासायास्तुष्टिस्तु परमं सुखम् ॥ 21 ॥ MB XII. 317
स्रवन्ति न निवर्तन्ते स्रोतांसि सरितामिव ।
आयुरादाय मर्त्यानां रात्र्यहानि पुनः पुनः ॥ 5
आक्रम्य रोग आदत्ते पशून् पशुपचो यथा ॥ 34 ॥
द्वंद्वारामेषु भूतेषु गच्छन्त्येकैकशो नराः ।
इदमन्यत् परं पश्य मऽत्र मोहं करिष्यसि ॥ 43 ॥ MB XII. 318

One who likes to live in society is like an animal tied down by a halter. The good break this bound and get free. This body, th abode of the elements is perishable, foul and full of diseases. Th soul dwelling inside is beginningless, deathless and incorporea The great Sanatkumāra, who knew what is holy, has said s(There is no end to thirst ; contentment is the highest happines: As the courses of rivers flow down, never to return in the sam way, the days and nights take away the life of mortals again an again. Disease attacks and kills creatures as a butcher does t the animals. The creatures in the world take great pleasure i pairs of opposites. You should not be deluded by them."

NP I. 60. 37-94 ; 61. 1-73

The *NP* narrates this part of the story and the discours narrated above in identical verses and extent with the followin points of difference : In the *MB.*, it is said that Śuka who is alon is approached by Nārada who subsequently gives the discourse In the *NP* however, it is Nārada who is the interlocutor who i asking Sanandana about the story of Śuka. Therefore in the *N1* it is not Nārada but Sanatkumāra who, as Sanandana says t(Nārada, meets Śuka and subsequently gives the discourse to him.[42] Except difference in this detail, the story and the discourse ar identical in the *MB* and the *NP*.

DB I. 20. 44

The *DB* mentions in one verse[43] that Śuka (who had already married and got four sons and one daughter) after some time, go the highest knowledge and attained to the highest path of Yog through the instruction of Nārada. The *DB* does not give th discourse or instruction of Nārada.

42. तत्र स्वाध्यायसंसक्तं शुकं व्याससुतं मुने ॥ 38 ॥
सनत्कुमारो भगवानेकान्ते समुपागतः ।
उत्थाय सत्कृतस्तेन ब्रह्मपुत्रो हि कार्ष्णिना ॥ 29 ॥ NP I. 60

43. कालेन कियता तत्र नारदस्योपदेशतः ।
ज्ञानं परमकं प्राप्य योगमार्गमनुत्तमम् ॥ 44 ॥
पुत्रे राज्यं निधायाथ गतो बदरिकाश्रमम् । 45 ॥ DB I. 20

Note—It is worth noting that according to *MB* and *DB*, it is Nārada who gives a discourse containing instruction to Śuka which eventually leads him to make his final resolution to renounce the world. In the *NP*, instead of Nārada, it is Sanatkumāra who gives such a discourse. In the *NP* it could not have been Nārada because, as already mentioned above in another connection, Nārada is the original interlocutor who asks Sanandana the story of Śuka, and as such he could not appear again as the giver of the discourse. In this connection, it is also worth recalling that Nārada in the *MB* passage prefaces his discourse with the remark (XII. 316. 5) that the instruction which he now proposes to give to him is the same as was given by Sanatkumāra to the pious sages of old. It indicates that the *MB* text of Nārada's discourse to Śuka, which is identical with the *NP*, was an ancient text ascribed by tradition to Sanatkumāra. The *NP* appears to be placed in an advantageous position, which, relying on tradition, it has happily used by calling in Sanatkumāra to give first-hand instruction to Śuka.

(e) *Śuka, resolved on renunciation, leaves his father in quest of the way to the state of emancipation.*

MB XII. 318. 46-63

Reflecting on the discourse of Nārada, Śuka said to himself: "How can I attain the highest state and never return to this earthly birth existence ? I want to go to a place where my mind shall get tranquility and where I shall remain immutable and immortal. This state is not possible without Yoga. I shall therefore betake to Yoga and enter the Sun. The Sun does not wane like the moon. It is all imperishable splendour. I would like therefore, to go to the sun and remain there with my mind detached.[44]

44. कथं त्वहमसंक्लिष्टो गच्छेयं परमां गतिम् ।
नावर्तेयं यथा भूयो योनिसंसारसागरे ॥49॥
तत्र यास्यामि यत्रात्मा शमं मेऽधिगमिष्यति ।
अक्षयश्चाव्ययश्चैव यत्र स्थास्यामि शाश्वतः ॥51॥
न तु योगमृते शक्या प्राप्तुं सा परमा गतिः ॥52॥

He then got the permission of Nārada and went to his father Dvaipāyana to take his leave. Vyāsa, hearing Śuka's resolve, got pleased and said, "my son, please stay for a while today while I please my eyes by looking at you,"[45] Śuka, devoid of all attachment, free from all ties, with his thoughts bent on Mokṣa left his father and departed.

NP I. 61. 74-78

The *NP* Summarizes this part of the story in 5 verses saying : "Sanatkumāra, after giving discourse, took leave of Śuka and went away. Śuka, eager to seek the highest state of Brahman, approached his father, went round him in salutation and started for the Kailāsa. Vyāsa, pained at his separation, wailed forth asking him to stay on for a while. But Śuka, devoid of all attachment, free from all ties, with his thoughts bent on Mokṣa, departed.

DB I. 19. 45-46

The *DB* makes only a bare mention, in about two verses, of Śuka entrusting his kingdom to his sons and learning the company of his father to go to Kailāsa.

Note—The *MB* refers to Śuka's resolve to enter the orb of the Sun as the first stage on the path of emancipation. The *NP* and the *DB* do not make mention of this detail. By this resolve of Śuka one is reminded of a verse which says : Two penetrate the orb of the Sun : the Recluse who practises Yoga and the hero who has laid down his life on the battlefield.[46] It appears that the resolve of Śuka is befitting a great Yogin that he is.

तस्माद्योगं समास्थाय···प्रवेक्ष्यामि तेजोराशिं दिवाकरम् ।।53।।
न ह्येषक्षयमाप्नोति सोमः सुरगणैर्यथा ।।54।।
अतो मे रोचते गन्तुमादित्यं दीप्ततेजसम् ।
अत्र वत्स्यामि दुर्धर्षो निःसङ्गेनान्तरात्मना ।।56।।

45. श्रुत्वा ऋषिस्तद्वचनं शुकस्य प्रीतो महात्मा पुनराह चैनम् ।
भो भोः पुत्र स्थीयतां तावदद्य यावच्चक्षुः प्रीणयामि त्वदर्थम् ।।62।।

46. द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ ।
परिव्राड् योगयुक्तश्च रणे चाभिमुखो हतः ।।*MB* V. 33. 178

V. ŚUKA GOT EMANCIPATED AND BECAME ONE WITH THE WHOLE CREATION

(a) *Śuka, by practising Yoga, flew into the Sky.*

MB XII. 319. 1-17

Śuka was adept in practising the successive practices of Yoga. At day break, looking at the rising sun, this great Yogin flew into the sky. The whole creation looked on with wonder, as Śuka sped through the ethereal regions, calm and fearless, into the world of the Sun. The gods showered celestial flowers on him as a mark of their worship.

NP I. 62. 5-12

The *NP* presents the above part of the story in identical words, in an abridged form omitting some verses.

DB I. 20. 46-48

The *DB* merely mentions that Śuka practised Yoga and flew into the sky.

(b) *Śuka's Request to the Creation*

MB XII. 319. 18-29

While Śuka speeding through the ethereal regions crossed the Malaya mountain, the celestial damsels gazed at him with wonder and admiration. Urvaśī exclaimed: "O! how wonderful is this youthful Dvija full of intelligence and calm! He is fast speeding in the Sky like the moon! The father must be very fond of such a son! How could his devoted father abandon him[47]?" These words were heard by Śuka and he, looking around at the quarters, the mountains, the forest and the sky, said appealing to all the creation: "If my father follows crying and shouting out after me you should all together collectively reciprocate and give him the reply (that I am yea). Please do this out of your love for me." At these words of

47. अहो बुद्धिसमाधानं वेदाभ्यासरते द्विजे ।
अचिरेणैव कालेन नभश्चरति चन्द्रवत् ॥21॥
.. ..
पितुः सुदायितः सुतः ।
अनन्यमनसा तेन कथं पित्रा विवर्जित. ॥22॥

Śuka, the quarters with the forest, the mountains, rivers, all around reverberated with the affirmative 'yea'.[48]

NP I. 62. 13-15

The *NP* drops the exclamations of Urvaśī in the *MB* and says instead : "The hosts of Gandharvas and celestial damsels and the sages looking at Śuka with wonder exclaimed : 'Who is this that has attained such perfection?' Then Śuka told them his name and appealed to them to reply to his father if the latter went crying out after him". The verse containing the appeal of Śuka is identical with that in the *MB.*

DB makes no mention of the above part of the story containing appeal of Śuka.

(c) *Śuka becomes one with all creation.*

MB XII. 320. 1-19.

Śuka sped with his Yogic power through the regions *Tamas, Rajas* and *Sattva* towards the final Brahman. All the creation quivered with dismay. Meteors fell from the sky. The waters were agitated. While Śuka careered flying above the earth, mountain peaks cleft and gave way to him. He passed on the way by the river Mandākinī. He looked at the river with the groves of flowery trees waving on its banks.[49] The celestial

48 (शुक:) उदैक्षत दिशः सर्वा वचने गतमानस: ॥23॥
अब्रवीत्तास्तदा वाक्यं शुकः परमधर्मवित् ।
पिता यद्यनुगच्छेन्मां क्रोशमानः शुकेति वै ॥26॥
ततः प्रतिवचो देयं सर्वैरेव समाहितैः ।
एतन्मे स्नेहतः सर्वे वचनं कर्तुमर्हथ ॥27॥
शुकस्य वचनं श्रुत्वा दिशः सवनकानना: ।
समुद्राः सरित: शैलाः प्रत्यूचुस्तं समन्ततः ॥28॥
यथा ज्ञापयसे विप्र बाढमेवं भविष्यति ॥29॥ MB XII. 319

49. ततो मन्दाकिनीं रम्यामुपरिष्टादभिव्रजन् ।
शुको ददर्श धर्मात्मा पुष्पितद्रुमकाननाम् ॥16॥
तस्यां क्रीडन्त्यभिरता: स्नान्ति चैवाप्सरोगणाः ॥
शून्याकारं निराकाराः शुकं दृष्ट्वा विवासस: ॥17॥ MB XII. 320

damsels were at that time sporting in the river, with their garments off. They looked at Śuka whom they found so expressionless and vacant that they continued their sport undisturbed. Śuka sped and flew above the path of the winds and finally in the full plenitude of his power, became one with all creation.[50]

NP I. 62. 16-25

The *NP*, cutting out some verses which describe Śuka's careering through the sky and the upheavals in nature accompanying it, narrates the rest of the part of the story in identical verses, retaining the episode of Śuka's encounter with the Apsarasas.

DB I. 20. 47-49.

The *DB* in three verses referring to the mountain peaks cleaving in two when Śuka sped through the sky and to the accompanying upheavals (utpātāḥ) in nature, states in brief, that Śuka flew from the peak of the mountain and attained the highest state of perfection.[51] It should be noted that the *DB* does not refer to the encounter of Śuka with the Apsarasas.

VI. Vyāsa in Quest of Śuka

(a) *Vyāsa calls out to Śuka and the whole creation responds.*

MB XII. 320. 20-26

After Śuka had left Vyāsa soon followed in search after him. While he wandered searching him out, he shouted out wailing his son's name in a long accented cry which echoed through the three worlds. Śuka who had become one with the whole creation heard his father's cry and responded with 'Bhoḥ' (O !). The whole world of the mobile and the immobile echoed forth loudly the sound of that syllable 'Bhoḥ' ![52]

50. शुकस्तु मारुतादूर्ध्वं गतिं कृत्वान्तरिक्षगाम् ।
दर्शयित्वा प्रभावं स्वं सर्वभूतोऽभवत् तदा ॥ 19 ॥ *MB.* XII.320.

51. उत्पपात गिरेः शृंगात् सिद्धिश्च परमां गतः । 47 ॥ DB I. 20.

52. ततः शुकोतिदीर्घेण शैक्षेणाक्रन्दितस्तदा ।
स्वयं पित्रा स्वरेणोच्चैस्त्रींल्लोकाननुनाद्य च ॥ 22 ॥

NP I. 62. 26-32

The *NP* in verses identical with the *MB* describes the part of the story narrated above relating to the response of the whole creation to Vyāsa's call.

DB I. 20. 50-52

The *DB*, in words different from the *MB*, relates this episode in brief: "Vyāsa who was wailing shouting forth 'O! my son' was answered back by Śuka who had been now merged in all the creation".[53]

Note—It will be seen that regarding this episode of Vyāsa's crying out for his son and of the whole creation answering back his call, there is unanimity, in essence, among the *MB*, *NP* and *DB*. This moving episode has been enshrined in a nutshell in a famous verse in the Bhāgavata[54] which means: The sage went forth, renouncing the world, alone, with nothing left to achieve. Dvaipāyana, his father, afflicted by his separation, went after him calling out 'O My Son!' The trees, which were filled with his presence, rustled and murmured back in answer to his father. Thus he has become the heart of things and of creation. To that sage, I bow in salutation!"

शुकः सर्वगतो भूत्वा सर्वात्मा सर्वतोमुखः ।
प्रत्यभाषत धर्मात्मा भोःशब्देनानुनादयन् ॥ 23 ॥
तत एकाक्षर नादं भो इत्येव समीरयन् ।
प्रत्याहरज्जगत्सर्वमुच्चैः स्थावरजंगमम् ॥ 24 ॥ *MB* XII. 320

53. व्यासस्तु विरहाक्रान्तः क्रन्दन्पुत्रेति चासकृत् ॥ 50 ॥
गिरेः शृंगगतस्तत्र शुको यत्र स्थितोऽभवत् ।
क्रन्दमानं तदा दीनं व्यासं मत्वा श्रमाकुलम् ॥ 51 ॥
सर्वभूतगतः साक्षी प्रतिशब्दमदात्तदा ॥ 52 ॥ DB I. 20

54 यं प्रव्रजन्तमनुपेतमपेतकृत्यं द्वैपायनो विरहकातर आजुहाव ।
पुत्रेति तन्मयतया तरवोऽभिनेदुस्तं सर्वभूतहृदयं मुनिमानतोऽस्मि ॥
श्रीमद्भागवत I. 2. 2.

See also Bhāgavata-Māhātmya I. 1=Padmapurāṇa II,

(b) *Vyāsa's encounter with the celestial damsels*

MB XII. 320. 27-30.

Vyāsa struck at the great achievement of his illustrious son, sat on the slopes of the mountain, engrossed in thoughts about his son. Nearly, the celestial damsels were sporting on the river Mandākinī when they saw the sage, they were abashed and got confused. Some of them dived in water, some hid behind clumps of trees, and others put on their garments. The sage had known the uninhibitedness of his son and now realized in contrast, his own attachment to passions.[55] He felt both glad and ashamed.

NP, *DB* } both omit this episode of the story narrated in the *MB*.

(c) *Vyāsa was comforted by Mahādeva*

MB XII. 320. 31-38.

Vyāsa sat, moody and filled with grief at the separation from his son. Lord Mahādeva Śaṅkara comforted him with the following words : "I promised you before that you would have a son equal in power to the great Elements. You had such a son Śuka. He has attained to a state which is hard to get even by divinities. Why are you sorry for him ? The fame of you and your son will endure as long as the mountains and oceans endure. Besides, through my grace, you will see yourself accompanied by the shadow similar to your son, which shall never leave you."[56]

55- ततो मन्दाकिनीतीरे क्रीडन्तोऽप्सरसां गणाः ।
आसाद्य तमृषिं सर्वाः संभ्रान्ता गतचेतसः ।। 28 ।।
जले निलीयिरे काश्चित् काश्चिद् गुल्मान् प्रपेदिरे ।
वसनान्याददुः काश्चित् दृष्ट्वा तं मुनिसत्तमम् ।।29।।
तां मुक्ततां तु विज्ञाय मुनिः पुत्रस्य वै तदा ।
सक्ततामात्मनश्चैव प्रीतोऽभूद् व्रीडितश्च ह ।।30।। *MB*.XII.320.

56. अग्नेर्भूमेरपां वायोरन्तरिक्षस्य चैव ह ।
वीर्येण सदृशः पुत्रस्त्वया मत्तः पुरा वृतः ।।
स तथालक्षणो जातस्तपसा तव सम्भृतः ।।34।।
स गतिं परमां प्राप्तो दुष्प्रापामजितेन्द्रियैः ।
दैवतैरपि विप्रर्षे तं त्वं किमनुशोचसि ।।35।।

Comforted with these words of Rudra, Vyāsa felt glad and returned to his hermitage, looking at the shadow which accompanied him.

NP I. 62. 33-34

The above part of the story in the *MB* is found in a summarised form in the *NP* in two verses: "Rudra comforted him saying 'why are you pining for your son? He has become Brahman. Don't you see him following you nearly?' and Vyāsa went back to his hermitage."

DB I. 20. 53-59

The *DB* gives the whole episode narrated above in the *MB*, though in a different wording. It also introduces a little change in narration. In the *MB* Śaṅkara makes a single speech in which he also grants to Vyāsa that the shadow of Śuka would always accompany him. In the *DB*, Śaṅkara is made to speak twice. In the first speech he said to Vyāsa: "You should not be sorry for your son. He has attained the highest state. He has added to your fame and glory." Still Vyāsa said to him: "I cannot overcome my grief until I can see my son." Then Mahādeva granted the boon: "You will see the shadow of your son always by your side. By seeing it, you can overcome your grief."

The story of Śuka as told in the versions of the *MB*, *NP* and *DB* has been given above and the points of similarity and difference among the three versions have been briefly noted from one stage to another in the development of the story. Now in conclusion, there follows below a summing up of the points of similarity and difference accompanied by a relevant discussion of the relation between these versions.

यावत्स्थास्यन्ति गिरयः यावत्स्थास्यन्ति सागराः ।
तावत्तवाक्षया कीर्तिः सपुत्रस्य भविष्यति ॥36॥
छायां स्वपुत्रसदृशीं सर्वतोऽनपगां सदा ।
द्रक्ष्यसे त्वं च लोकेऽस्मिन् मत्प्रसादान्महामुने ॥37॥ MB XII. 320

THE MB AND NP VERSIONS

The following points which emerge from the comparative study of these two versions of the Śuka story are worth noting:

I. The *NP* version of the story is almost identical in wording and content with that in the *MB*. Wherever there are differences found in the version of the *NP* they are due (a) what appears to be an attempt at abridgement on the part of the author of the *NP* version (b) to omissions of some episodes mentioned in the *MB* and (c) to change in names in two places

Thus (a) an attempt at abridgement appears at work (i) in the account of the places which Śuka visited on his way to Mithilā (ii) in the account of the reception which Śuka received in the precincts of Janaka's court from the gatekeepers and the courtezans (iii) in the account in which the four pupils of Vyāsa request his permission to be (along with Śuka) the sole custodians of the Vedas and to descend to the earth for the teaching and propagation of the Vedas.—(b) The important accounts that appear to have been omitted from the *NP* version are (i) the Description of the Himālaya to which Śuka returns from the court of Janaka, (ii) the description of Śuka's actual resolve to renounce the world and to enter the orb of the sun as the first stage of his journey towards final emancipation, (iii) the description of Urvaśī's feelings, wonder, admiration and tenderness at the sight of Śuka, (iv) and Vyāsa's encounter with the Apsarasas.–(c) The changes introduced by the *NP* in respect of names are (i) when a 'disembodied voice' is substituted in place of Nārada to exhort Vyāsa to resume the recitation of the Vedas and (ii) when Sanatkumāra is substituted for Nārada to deliver the final discourse to Śuka.

II. The next question which arises after the comparative study of the *MB* and *NP* versions of the Śuka story concerns the relation between these two versions. whether the *NP* has borrowed from the *MB*. Looking to the dates of these two works to which reference has been made in the beginning one may be tempted to conclude that the *NP* may have borrowed from the *MB*. But this conclusion may not be safe in view of the

consideration that the dates which have been fixed by scholars regarding these two works may be broadly applicable to the works as a whole and may not hold good in respect of all individual passages some of which may be very old and may have been the part of a common pool of inherited passages to be taken over by the authors of the later works according to their need and taste. In respect of the Śuka story, one is led to believe that the Śuka story must have been very old and popular and must have been transmitted in a common version which was used both by the authors of the *MB* and the *NP* according to their predilections. This hypothesis may explain the omissions in the *NP* which have been pointed out above. One may hazard a conjecture that the passages which appear to have been omitted from the *NP* may not have formed part of the common version of the Śuka story and may have been added by the author of the *MB* for his own purpose. Otherwise, there is no reason why the *NP* should omit them outright. The *NP* could have abridged them, making a bare mention of them, as it has done in other passages which it has summarized.

THE DB VERSION

I. The *DB* version is quite different in wording from the other two versions, though there are a few verses common to the *MB* and *NP* versions. The author of the *DB* version of the story retells the story in his own way in his words and introduces a number of changes—some of them radical—in the common traditional Śuka story as is narrated in the *MB* and the *NP*. Though the *DB* has kept to the traditional conclusion of the story viz. that Śuka renounced the world finally to get emancipation and become one with creation, it has used the Śuka story for its own sectarian ends. The changes which the *DB* has introduced may be summed up as follows :

(i) It is the Sūta who narrates the story of Śuka to the sages to fulfill their curiosity regarding Śuka's superhuman birth.

(ii) It is the sight of a pair of sparrows fondling their young one which stimulates the desire in Vyāsa to have a son.

(iii) In consonance with its avowed object of glorifying the Devī, the *DB* makes Vyāsa invoke the grace of Śakti and of Mahādeva with his consort Sadāśivā in order to get a son.

(iv) Vyāsa was stimulated into passion by the sight of Ghṛtācī, the *apsaras*. According to the *DB*, Vyāsa looked with displeasure on Ghṛtācī, as she was a courtezan. Ghṛtācī, frightened by the displeasure of the sage, turned into a female parrot to make a safe exit The *DB* thus provides the cause why Ghṛtācī turned herself into a Śukī.

(v) The *DB*, avowedly devoted to singing the praise of the Devī, the supreme female Element in Creation, is therefore inclined to glorify married life and the stage of a householder blessed with a son. Vyāsa, therefore, in the version of the Śuka story in the *DB* tries to impress on Śuka the blessings of wedlock by asking him to study Bhāgavata-Purāṇa which describes the dominating power of Śakti or Lakṣmī. Vyāsa presses him to take to a wife. When he finds Śuka still not amenable to his advice, he sends him for instruction to Janaka who, being according to him an ideal householder, is expected to bring Śuka round to accept the life of a householder. It appears that Vyāsa's expectations were right as Śuka, returning from Janaka, got himself married and had subsequently four sons and one daughter.

(vi) Śuka is shown in the *DB* as being very critical at first about the conduct of Janaka. He taunts Janaka for his claiming himself 'Videha' i. e. transcending the temptations of the flesh, as according to him the claim is preposterous for one leading a worldy life. But at the end he is convinced of the rightness of Janaka's stand.

(viii) The *DB* makes no mention of Śuka's and Vyāsa's encounters with the Apsarasas. Nor is there mention in the *DB* of Śuka's appeal to the creation to reciprocate Vyāsa's call to Śuka.

II. Regarding the question of the relation of the *DB* version with the *MB* (and *NP*) version one may hazard the same conjecture as in the case of the relation between the *MB* and *NP* above. The author of the *DB* had possibly before him a

common version of the Śuka story transmitted as a popular story from early times which may have formed the basis of the *MB* and the *NP* versions. The author of the *DB* retold the story and in so doing took profuse liberty with it. He changed the character of Śuka. Śuka, who was the embodiment of the ideal of renunciation according to the traditional story, was required to live a worldly life of a householder and a king.

One cannot but be struck and also be intrigued by this boldness of the author of the *DB* in making such a radical change in the character of Śuka. One may only conjecture and hazard suggestions regarding the reasons which may have actuated the author of the *DB* to make such a change.

Prof. Dr. R. C. Hazra has suggested two explanations to explain the radical change made by the *DB* version in the character of Śuka : (1) "These stories (in the Purāṇas, denouncing spontaneous renunciation) are clearly directed against the teachings of Buddhism and Jainism" which, "attached great importance to renunciation".[57] (2) The author of the *DB* "saw that an ideal character like Śuka might encourage others, having much less indifference to renounce the world and thus disturb the discipline in society. Hence he painted Śuka in quite a different colour" in *DB*.[58]

Regarding the above suggestions of Prof. Hazra, which are negative in the sense that they suggest reasons which were meant to counter some undesirable tendencies of the times, it is possible to doubt whether the idea of renunciation had remained so catching and tempting at the time of the *DB*, i.e. about the 11th century A.D., so that it required to be counteracted by making such radical change in the character of Śuka. A more plausible and positive explanation would be, perhaps, the following : The author of the *DB*, who was himself a Śākta, lived in the times

57. 'Studies in the Purānic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' (1940) page, 230.

58. 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas' vol. II (Sanskrit College, Calcutta. 1963) p. 340.

when Śāktism and Tāntrism which praised the Devī as the highest Deity dominated religious thought. The Vaiṣṇava, the Śaiva and other sectaries of the times were imbued with Śākta ideas more or less.[59] The author of the *DB* may have been impelled to use Śuka the great reputed recluse of epic and Purāṇic fame in the service of the glorification of the Śakti and of the householder's life.* Thus, he may have thought the people would be impressed by the power of the Śakti and the importance of the Śākta sect.

* The Matsya Purāṇa (15.5-10) also mentions that Śuka married Pīvarī and had a daughter named Kṛtvī and four sons from her. Besides, the Kūrma Purāṇa (I. 19. 26-27) says that Śuka had a daughter named Kīrtimatī and five sons. —*Editor*

59. See Prof. R.C. Hazra 'Studies in the Upa-purāṇas' vol. II, p. 330.

THE PROBLEM OF THE FIRST TRADITIONAL KING

By

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[अस्मिन् निबन्धे महाभारतस्य श्रीमद्भागवतमहापुराणस्य च साक्ष्याधारेण परम्पराप्रसिद्धस्य प्रथमस्य राज्ञो विषये राज्यस्य उद्भवविषये च विवेचनं कृतम्। जायसवालप्रभृतीनां विदुषां मते पुराणानां साक्ष्यं नोपादेयं किन्तु तेषां मतं न प्रमाणभूतमिति निर्दर्शितम्। महाभारते राज्यस्योद्भवस्य विवरणं द्वयोः स्थानयोर्दृश्यते। एकत्र तु कृतयुगस्य वर्णनप्रसङ्गे उक्तं यत् कृते राज्ञ अपेक्षा नासीत्, प्रजा धर्मेण आत्मानं रक्षितवत्यः। अनन्तरं काम-लोभादीनामुत्पत्तौ राज्यस्यावश्यकता जाता। तदा प्रजापतिः धर्मशास्त्रं निर्मितवान्, विष्णुस्तु विरजोनामानं राजानं कृतवान्। द्वितीयविवरणानुसारेण परस्परं विवदमाना नराः प्रजापतिं जग्मुः, प्रजापतिश्च मनुं राजपदे नियुक्तवान्। इत्थं विरोधो दृश्यते—कोऽयमाद्य राजा मनुः, विरजो वा ? अत्र लेखे प्रदर्शितं यत् विरजास्तु प्रजापतिः (प्रजानां नेता) आसीत् न तु राजा। तस्यान्वये प्रजापतयः कीर्तिमान्, कर्दम, अनङ्गः, वेन इत्येते आसन्, राजा तु वैन्यः पृथुरभूत्। सः प्रथमः शासको राजाऽऽसीत्, अथ च मन्त्रिभिर्युक्तं तस्यैव राज्यमासीत्। भागवतेऽपि पृथुः 'आदिराज' इत्युक्तः। अतो ज्ञायते यत् पृथुरेव आदिराज आसीन्न तु विरजाः। श्रीमद्भागवत-विष्णुपुराणमतानुसारेण सृष्ट्यै ब्रह्मणा मनुः सृष्टः। मनुना स्वकन्या देवभूतिः विरजसः पौत्राय कर्दमाय प्रदत्ता। पुराणानुसारेण कर्दमस्य पुत्रः कपिल आसीत्, किन्तु महाभारतानुसारेण अनङ्गः। इदं सम्भाव्यते यत् अनङ्गः कर्दमस्य द्वितीयः पुत्र आसीत् यः पुराणकर्त्रा न निर्दिष्टः।

अनन्तरं निदर्शितं यत् मनुस्तु जातीनां नेता आसीत् सः भूपतिर्नासीदिति। आदिजातीनां समये भूम्या अधिपतिर्नासीत्। पृथुरेवाद्यो भूपाल आसीत्। तदनन्तरञ्च तस्यादर्शेन राज्यस्य स्थापनमभूत्।]

"The Purāṇas have no originality. The Purāṇa merely copy some chapters from some well-known authors, e. g. the Agnipurāṇa borrows from an author called Puṣkara." (Hindu Polity p. 7.). So says Dr. K. P. Jayaswal on the value of the Purāṇas as

a source of ancient Indian polity and not only Jayaswal but also almost all of his age and even some of us would like to say thus, if ever there is occassion to say. If such is the first hand impression of the value of the Purāṇas even now and our sight is so weak or disinclined to take any view of their value without a magnifying glass, it is certainly not justice to blame Dr. Jayaswal who wrote at a time when almost all the branches of Indian literature, except the Vedas and the Vedic, required magnification to express their value. It is intended here, therefore, to illustrate the nature and value of the Purāṇic notices of Hindu polity through a long sought riddle—the origin of State-institution in India.

So far the accounts of the origin of State in the Śānti Parvan of Mahābhārata and that in the Dīgha Nikāya have been based upon by scholars to draw certain conclusions out of it. A discussion of the origin of State, therefore, involves the analysis of these legendary theories and a mass of suggestions and conjectures. As to the historical origin of the State it is admitted that there is no clue and Altekar suggested it to emerge out of the patriarchal organization of the Aryan society. It must be admitted, however, that the Purāṇas add no new theory as to the origin of the State, but they certainly modify to a large extent our confusing interpretation of the already existing theories of Mahābhārata. How they do it let us see.

It is said that there are two accounts of the origin of State in the Śānti parvan of Mahābhārata. The one starts with the eloquent description of the Golden Age (कृतयुग) when there was no State, no king, no sceptre and no chastiser, and people were protecting themselves through *Dharma*. But they fell from this state of exceptional beings among whom there was no need for the institution of State through their passion *Lobha* and *Moha* to which *Kāma* and *Krodha* was added later on. As the result the people who once protected each other through *Dharma* turned against each and the sorry state of their affair moved the Gods who requested Prajāpati to mend it. Prajāpati on this compiled a code of law and then the Gods went to Viṣṇu who appointed his

mind-begotten son Virajas as King. The line of Virajas is continued through the tyrant Vena upto Pṛthu his son.

The second account, it is said, begins with the sorry state of affairs when the people themselves felt the need for state and failing to settle the affair by a common agreement reported matters to Prajāpati who appointed Manu as King. Manu was at the beginning unwilling to hold the office as it involved great sins whereupon the people agreed to give a portion of their *Puṇya* to the King to make him agree to rule over them.

What is the relation between these two theories? Do they have in view the two different sorts of state which they seek to explain or put the theories as alternatives of the same problem of the origin of State? How can a single work and a single expositor—Bhīṣma—regard Manu as the first king (आदिराज) at one place and Virajas at another? Such questions were never discussed merely because of the fact that there was no available data to answer them convincingly and the scholars avoided Manu in their treatment of the origin of state. But the Purāṇas have a valuable piece of information which would help us in resolving above doubts. But before discussing them we should examine some points in the first theory of Mahābhārata more closely.

It is important to notice that Virajas the mind-begotten son of Viṣṇu according to the account of Śāntiparvan disliked the mastery over the earth and his intellect chose the way of renunciation.

विरजास्तु महाभागः प्रभुत्वं भुवि नैच्छत ।
न्यासायैवाभवद् बुद्धिः प्रणीता तस्य पाण्डव ॥ Śānti, 53.99

So he was not the first king. Similarly, the account states that his son Kīrtimān also grew superhuman and even his son Kardama took to severe penance.

कीर्तिमांस्तस्य पुत्रोऽभूत् सोऽपि पञ्चातिगोऽभवत् ।
कर्दमस्तस्य पुत्रोऽभूत् सोप्यतप्यन्महत् तपः ॥ Śānti 53. 100

What is again noticeable is the fact that inspite of his indifference towards the worldly affairs and indulgence into penance Kardama is called Prajāpati in the next verse and his son Anaṅga is said to have procured the Status of Mahārāja and to have become the great protector of the people and master of Daṇḍanīti.

प्रजापतेः कर्दमस्य अनङ्गो नाम वै सुतः ।
प्रजारक्षयिता साधुर्दण्डनीतिविशारदः ॥

Śanti. 53. 101

His son Bala became addicted to passion finding a wife who was the daughter of Yama and begot on her Vena who was the so-called tyrant of the scholars.

अनङ्गपुत्रेति बलो नीतिमानधिगम्य वै ।
अभिपेदे महाराज्यमथेन्द्रियवशोऽभवत् ॥
प्राप्य नारीं महाभागां रूपिणीं काममोहितः ।
सौभाग्येन सम्पन्नां गुणैश्चानुत्तमां सतीम् ॥
मृत्योस्तु दुहिता राजन् सुनीथा नाम नामतः ।
प्रख्याता त्रिषु लोकेषु या सा वेनमजीजनत् ॥

Śānti 53. 102-104.

Yet more striking is the fact that the mention of the high officials taking charge of their respective offices takes place only in the case of Pṛthu, the son of Vena who was killed by the curse of the sages, as said above Had Vena been the full-fledged king wielding his sceptre through a host of high officials there was no need for Pṛthu of asking for the services of the Brāhmaṇas.

वैन्यस्तु तानुवाचेदं देवानृषिपुरोगमान् ॥
ब्राह्मणा मे सहायाश्चेद् एवमस्तु सुरर्षभाः ।
एवमस्त्विति वैन्यस्तु तैरुक्तो ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥
पुरोधाश्चाभवत्तस्य शुक्रो ब्रह्ममयो निधिः ।
मंत्रिणो बालखिल्यास्तु सारस्वत्यो गणो ह्यभूत् ॥

Śānti. 53. 119-121.

It may be argued with some force that since Vena was opposed to the Brāhmaṇas and Brāhmaṇas killed him and since the above statement of Pṛthu is preceded by the condition of the Brāhmaṇas and the Gods that Brāhmaṇas would be unpunishable (अदण्ड्य) for him the above assumption that high officials were not in the reign of Vena or his predecessors is not borne out. But we should not forget that the author is relating the origin of state and as the conception of state in Śāntiparvan involves all the seven Aṅgas in which Ministers are very important constituent element of the state next only to the king he would not have missed it while dealing with Virajas or any of the predecessors of Pṛthu, had he any such intention in his mind. Moreover, if the author intended Virajas to be first king what was the need to proceed the line upto Pṛthu.

It is therefore, improper to call any of the predecessors of Pṛthu as king; they were Prajāpatis, i.e. patriarchs—the successive heads of the tribes. Pṛthu was the first king and the territorial kingship backed by a host of officials began with him according to the legendary lore. The allusion to such an idea occurs in Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, though indication towards the same is found in almost all the Purāṇas and even in the Śānti parvan itself. This Purāṇa during the course of the famous story in which Pṛthu moved by the hunger and poverty of his people chases the earth in the form of a cow mentions that the pleased king moved with the daughterly love made the earth, from which was already milched out desires of all, plain (समं) by reducing to dust the hills and mountains by the point of his bow and made on the plain-earth the settlements and habitats called variously as Grāma, Puras, Pattana, Durga, Ghoṣa, Vraja, Śivira, Ākara, Kheṭa and Kharvāṭa. The Purāṇa expressly states that before Pṛthu there was no conception of villages and towns and people were living fearlessly wherever they liked.

ततो महीपतिः प्रीतः सर्वकामदुघां पृथुः ।
दुहितृत्वे चकारेमां प्रेम्णा दुहितृवत्सलः ॥

चूर्णयन् स्वधनुष्कोट्या गिरिकूटानि राजराट् ।
भूमण्डलमिदं वैन्यः प्रायश्चक्रे समं विभुः ॥
अथास्मिन् भगवान् वैन्यः प्रजानां वृत्तिदः पिता ।
निवासान् कल्पयाञ्चक्रे तत्र तत्र यथार्हतः ॥
ग्रामान् पुरः पत्तनानि दुर्गाणि विविधानि च ।
घोषान् व्रजान् सशिविरानाकरान् खेटखर्वटान् ॥
प्राक् पृथोरिह नैवैषा पुरग्रामादिकल्पना ।
यथासुखं वसन्ति स्म तत्र तत्राकुतोभयाः ॥

Bhāgavata, 4. 18. 28-32.

At more than one places in the same Purāṇa Pṛthu is expressly called as Ādirāja, e.g. in 4. 20. 21, 32. ; 4. 21. 8 etc.

All this shows that the institution of territorial kingship began, according to legendary account, with Pṛthu and not with any of his predecessors. The meaning of the word 'Rājā' is again justified with reference to the story of milching the earth in the Śāntiparvan also. Thus it says :

तेनेयं पृथिवी दुग्धा सस्यानि दश सप्त च ।
यक्षराक्षसनागानामीप्सितं यस्य यस्य यत् ॥
तेन धर्मोत्तरश्चायं कृतो लोको महात्मना ।
रञ्जिताश्च प्रजाः सर्वास्तेन राजेति कथ्यते ॥

Sānti. 53. 131-132.

Because he by milching the earth provided the 17 food-grains and whatever else was dear to the Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Nāgas and others and pleasing (रञ्जिता) thereby his (hungry) people he is called Rājā—one who pleases. So here Bhīṣma answers the first question of Yudhiṣṭhira—'why is he called Rājā ?'

य एष राजन् राजेति शब्दश्चरति भारत ।
कथमेष समुत्पन्नस्तन्मे ब्रूहि पितामह ॥ Śānti. 53. 5.

Thus we can now safely conclude that the legendary lore regarded Pṛthu as the first king and not Virajas as is ordinarily held.

Now let us determine what the predecessors of Pṛthu and Manu of the second account were. Was Manu like the predecessors of Pṛthu ?

According to Viṣṇu-purāṇa Prajāpati after creating the different phenomena of the world created out of his mind his Prajā. But as they were indifferent towards sexual enjoyment and invariably thought otherwise he felt angry and out of his anger was created Rudra. After this Manu Svāyambhuva was created who made himself Prajāpāla and took a woman called Śatarūpā as his wife and begot over her Priyavrata, Uttānapāda, Prasūti, and Ākūti.

ततो ब्रह्मात्मसंभूतं पूर्वं स्वायंभुवं प्रभुम् ।
आत्मानमेव कृतवान् प्रजापालं मनुं द्विज ॥
शतरूपां च तां नारीं तपोनिर्धूतकल्मषाम् ।
स्वायंभुवो मनुर्देवः पत्न्यर्थं जगृहे विभुः ॥
तस्मात्तु पुरुषाद्देवी शतरूपा व्यजायत् ।
प्रियव्रतोत्तानपादौ प्रसूत्याकूतिसंज्ञितम् ॥ Viṣṇu I. 7 14-16.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa repeats almost the same account with greater details and interspersed with large episodes. It adds that from Manu onward the creation was prolonged through male and female contact :

तदा मिथुनधर्मेण प्रजा ह्येधाम्बभूविरे ।
स चापि शतरूपायां पञ्चापत्यानजीजनत् ॥
प्रियव्रतोत्तानपादौ तिस्रः कन्याश्च भारत ।
आकूतिर्देवहूतिश्च प्रसूतिरिति सत्तम ॥ Bhāg, III.12, 54-55.

The story of the birth of Rudra from the wrath of Prajāpati and his creation of such beings who began to eat the world is alluded to by Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu alike. Thus Bhāgavata says :

रुद्राणां रुद्रसृष्टानां समन्ताद् ग्रसतां जगत् ।
निशाम्यासंख्यशो यूथान् प्रजापतिरशङ्कत ॥
अलं प्रजाभिः सृष्टाभिरीदृशीभिः सुरोत्तम ।
मया सह दहन्तीभिर्दिशश्चक्षुर्भिरुल्बणैः ॥

Bhāgavata. III. 12. 17-18.

Having thus forbidden Rudra from creation Prajāpati created ten Ṛshis for promoting creation and then he created Manu. Now Manu is said in the Bhāgavata as well as in the Viṣṇu to have married his daughter Devahūti with Kardama and Kardama was the grandson of Virajas. But according to the purāṇa his son was Kapila while according to Mahābhārata his son was Anaṅga Anaṅga might have been another son of Kardama which would have been ignored by the devotional nature of Bhāgavata Purāṇa. But in this way Virajas antedates Manu by one generation. But since both Virajas and his son and even grandson were indifferent towards the world, speaking of Manu as the first Prajāpati does not involve any contradiction. The context of Arājaka in which Śantiparvan mentions the second account again becomes compatible when seen in this light as indifference of Virajas, Kīrtimān and Kardama would have created conditions of anarchy which the second explains through Mātsyanyāya. In this way both the accounts are not different but are one and the same. And as the author of these accounts expected an advance acquaintance with these legends he does not hint at their context in the popular mythology as such, but only alludes to them perhaps with the assumption that the readers will make out the rest. In this way to speak of Manu as the first king is borne out as is also mentioned in the Bhāgavata (प्रविश्य तत्तीर्थवरमादिराजः... III. 21.44) but Virajas being the first king is not borne out in any case.

Now arises the question as to how a single discourse can speak of two Ādirājas ? As a matter of fact as remarked already above the traditional legendary conception of Kingship or State was of two kinds : firstly that in which man was not attached to the soil and secondly when he was. In the first case the severity of the loss or absence of the leader (king) of a people would have jeopardised their very existence as threats from animals and alien tribes would have easily overpowered a disunited people and hence the dread of Arājaka as depicted in the Śāntiparvan is fully justified. So Manu was the first king of the tribal kingship. As he is also regarded as the progenitor of mankind the conjecture of Altekar that among Indo-Aryan people the institution of kingship

arose out of the patriarchal system of social organization prevalent among them finds fresh support from the traditional legendary lore also. But of the territorial kingship which meant more than mere tribal leadership and presupposed people's attachment with soil (agricultural economy) Pṛthu was the first king. It was indeed the model upon which the later imperial states framed themselves.

Our treatment of the problem of the first king and the conception of kingship may be charged with unscrupulous mixing of sources belonging to different datas. But against any such charge we may humbly submit that the theme which we are dealing with though belonging to the works of differing dates is not the product of any of their authors. It is on the contrary a tradition of Yore which no body may be credited to have invented and both the Purāṇa-kāraṣ and Mahābhārata-kāra drew upon it. It is, therefore, not the mixing of the source pertaining to different ages but an attempt of reading critically the truth out of different versions of the same theme.

This brief discussion of the topic will amply demonstrate the value of Purāṇic evidence on Hindu polity, Although they have much nuisance, interpolation and paradoxes but the kernels which swelled into the present volumes are certainly valuable complements without which we may either misinterpret or completely overlook the value of the evidence of other lines. But it must be frankly admitted that the utilization and much less basing on them entirely is not an easy task and even after a careful treatment of the matter none may be assured of his position beyond risk. But this risk is worth taking.

पुराण-सुभाषितानि

(श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणात्)

(पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तम्)

योऽध्रुवेणात्मना नाथ न धर्मं न यशः पुमान् ।
ईहेत भूतदयया स शोच्यः स्थावरैरपि ॥ ८ ॥
एतावानव्ययो धर्मः पुण्यश्लोकैरुपासितः ।
यो भूतशोकहर्षाभ्यामात्मा शोचति हृष्यति ॥ ९ ॥
अहो दैन्यमहो कष्टं पारक्यैः क्षणभंगुरैः ।
यन्नोपकुर्यादस्वार्थैर्मर्त्यः स्वज्ञातिविग्रहैः ॥ १० ॥
(६।१०।८-१०)

जातस्य मृत्युर्ध्रुव एष सर्वतः ।
प्रतिक्रिया यस्य न चेह क्लृप्ता ।
लोको यशश्चाथ ततो यदि ह्यमुं ।
को नाम मृत्युं न वृणीत युक्तम् ॥ (६।१०।३२)

द्वौ सम्मताविह मृत्यू दुरापौ
यद् ब्रह्मसंधारणया जितासुः ।
कलेवरं योगरतो विजह्याद्
यदग्रणीर्वीरशयेऽनिवृत्तः ॥ (६।१०।३३)

लोकाः सपाला यस्येमे श्वसन्ति विवशा वशे ।
द्विजा इव शिचा बद्धाः स काल इह कारणम् ॥ (६।१२।८)

यथा दारुमयी नारी यथा यन्त्रमयो मृगः ।
एवं भूतानि मघवन्नीशतन्त्राणि विद्धि भोः ॥ (६।१२।१०)

यस्य भक्तिर्भगवति हरौ निःश्रेयसेश्वरे ।
विक्रीडतोऽमृताम्भोधौ किं क्षुद्रैः खातकोदकैः ॥ (६।१२।२२)

धिगप्रजां स्त्रियं पापां पत्युश्चागृहसम्मताम् ।
सुप्रजाभिः सपत्नीभिर्दासीमिव तिरस्कृताम् ॥ (६।१४।४०)

अहो विधातस्त्वमतीव बालिशो
यस्त्वात्मसृष्ट्यप्रतिरूपमीहसे ।
परेऽनुजीवत्यपरस्य या मृति-
र्विपर्ययश्चेत्त्वमसि ध्रुवः परः ॥
न हि क्रमश्चेदिह मृत्युजन्मनोः
शरीरिणामस्तु तदात्मकर्मभिः ।
यः स्नेहपाशो निजसर्गवृद्धये
स्वयं कृतस्ते तमिमं विवृश्चसि ॥
(६।१४।५४,५५)

यथा प्रयान्ति संयान्ति स्रोतोवेगेन वालुकाः ।
संयुज्यन्ते वियुज्यन्ते तथा कालेन देहिनः ॥
यथा धानासु वै धाना भवन्ति न भवन्ति च ।
एवं भूतेषु भूतानि चोदितानीशमायया ॥ (६।१५।३,४)

देहेन देहिनो राजन् देहाद्देहोभिजायते ।
बीजादेव यथा बीजं देह्यर्थ इव शाश्वतः ॥ (६।१५।७)

यथा वस्तूनि पण्यानि हेमादीनि ततस्ततः ।
पर्यटन्ति नरेष्वेवं जीवो योनिषु कर्तृषु ॥
नित्यस्यार्थस्य सम्बन्धो ह्यनित्यो दृश्यते नृषु ।
यावद्यस्य हि सम्बन्धो ममत्वं तावदेव हि ॥ (६।१६।६, ७)

लब्ध्वेह मानुषीं योनिं ज्ञानविज्ञानसम्भवाम् ।
आत्मानं यो न बुद्ध्येत न क्वचिच्छममाप्नुयात् ॥ (६।१६।५८)

सुखाय दुःखमोक्षाय कुर्वते दम्पती क्रियाः ।
ततो निवृत्तिरप्राप्तिर्दुःखस्य च सुखस्य च ॥ (६।१६।६०)

संसारचक्र एतस्मिञ्जन्तुरज्ञानमोहितः ।
भ्राम्यन् सुखं च दुःखं च भुङ्क्ते सर्वत्र सर्वदा ॥
नैवात्मा न परश्चापि कर्त्ता स्यात् सुखदुःखयोः ।
कर्त्तारं मन्यतेऽप्राज्ञ आत्मानं परमेव च ॥
गुणप्रवाह एतस्मिन् कः शापः कोऽनुग्रहः ।
कः स्वर्गो नरकः को वा किं सुखं दुःखमेव वा ॥
एकः सृजति भूतानि भगवानात्ममायया ।
एषां बन्धं च मोक्षं च सुखं दुःखं च निष्फलः ॥
(६।१७।१८-२१)

देहिनां देहसंयोगाद् द्वन्द्वानीश्वरलीलया ।
सुखं दुःखं मृतिर्जन्म शापोऽनुग्रह एव च ॥ (६।१७।२९)

न ह्यस्यास्ति प्रियः कश्चिन्नाप्रियः स्वः परोपि वा ।
आत्मत्वात्सर्वभूतानां सर्वभूतप्रियो हरिः ॥ (६।१७।३३)

पतिरेव हि नारीणां दैवतं परमं स्मृतम् ।
मानसः सर्वभूतानां वासुदेवः श्रियः पतिः ॥ (६।१८।३३)

पथि च्युतं तिष्ठति दिष्टरक्षितं
गृहे स्थितं तद्विहतं विनश्यति ।
जीवत्यनाथोऽपि तदीक्षितो वने
गृहेऽपि गुप्तोऽस्य हतो न जीवति ॥ (७।२।४०)

इदं शरीरं पुरुषस्य मोहजं
यथा पृथग्भौतिकमीयते गृहम् ।
यथोदकैः पार्थिवतैजसैर्जनः
कालेन जातो विकृतो विनश्यति ॥
यथानलो दारुषु भिन्न ईयते
यथानिलो देहगतः पृथक् स्थितः ।
यथा नभः सर्वगतं न सज्जते
तथा पुमान् सर्वगुणाश्रयः परः ॥ (७।२।४२,४३)

यदा देवेषु वेदेषु गोषु विप्रेषु साधुषु ।
धर्मे मयि च विद्वेषः स वा आशु विनश्यति ॥ (७'४।२७)

मतिर्न कृष्णे परतः स्वतो वा
मिथोऽभिपद्येत गृहव्रतानाम् ।
अदान्तगोभिर्विशतां तमिस्रं
पुनः पुनश्चर्वितचर्वणानाम् ॥ (७।५।३०)

सुखमैन्द्रियकं दैत्या देहयोगेन देहिनाम् ।
सर्वत्र लभ्यते दैवाद्यथा दुःखमयत्नतः ॥
तत्प्रयासो न कर्तव्यो यत आयुर्व्ययः परम् ।
न तथा विन्दते क्षेमं मुकुन्दचरणाम्बुजम् ॥ (७।६।३,४)

को गृहेषु पुमान् सक्तमात्मानमजितेन्द्रियः ।
स्नेहपाशैर्दृढैर्बद्धमुत्सहेत विमोचितुम् ॥ ९ ॥
कोन्वर्थतृष्णां विसृजेत् प्राणेभ्योपि य ईप्सितः ।
यं क्रीणात्यसुभिः प्रेष्ठैस्तस्करः सेवको वणिक् ॥ १० ॥
(७।६।९,१०)

स्वर्णं यथा ग्रावसु हेमकारः
क्षेत्रेषु योगैस्तदभिज्ञ आप्नुयात् ।
क्षेत्रेषु देहेषु तथात्मयोगै-
रध्यात्मविद्ब्रह्मगतिं लभेत ॥ (७।७।२१)

रायः कलत्रं पशवः सुतादयो
गृहा मही कुञ्जरकोषभूतयः ।
सर्वेऽर्थकामा क्षणभंगुरायुषः
कुर्वन्ति मर्त्यस्य कियत् प्रियं चलाः ॥ (७।७।३९)

देवोऽसुरो मनुष्यो वा यक्षो गन्धर्व एव च ।
भजन् मुकुन्दचरणं स्वस्तिमान् स्याद् यथा वयम् ॥ (७।७।५०)

जिह्वैकतोऽच्युत विकर्षति माऽवितृप्ता
शिश्नोऽन्यतस्त्वगुदरं श्रवणं कुतश्चित् ।
घ्राणोऽन्यतश्चपलदृक् क्व च कर्मशक्ति-
र्बह्व्यः सपत्न्य इव गेहपतिं लुनन्ति ॥ (७।९।३९)

विमुञ्चति यदा कामान् मानवो मनसि स्थितान् ।
तर्ह्येव पुण्डरीकाक्ष भगवत्त्वाय कल्पते ॥ (७।१०.९)

सर्ववेदमयो विप्रः सर्वदेवमयो नृपः ॥ (७।११।२०)

या पतिं हरिभावेन भजेच्छ्रीरिव तत्परा ।
हर्यात्मना हरेर्लोके पत्या श्रीरिव मोदते ॥ (७।११।२९)

इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्त्यपि यतेर्मनः । (७।१२।८)

नन्वग्निः प्रमदा नाम घृतकुम्भसमः पुमान् ।
सुतामपि रहो जह्यादन्यदा यावदर्थकृत् ॥ (७।१२।९)

पश्याभिधनिनां क्लेशं लुब्धानामजितात्मनाम् ।
भयादलब्धनिद्राणां सर्वतोऽभिविशङ्किनाम् ॥ (७।१३।३१)

विधर्मः परधर्मश्च आभास उपमा छलः ।
अधर्मशाखाः पञ्चेमा धर्मज्ञोऽधर्मवत्त्यजेत् ॥ (७।१५।१२)

संतुष्टस्य निरीहस्य स्वात्मारामस्य यत्सुखम् ।
कुतस्तत्कामलोभेन धावतोऽर्थेहया दिशः ॥ (७।१५।१६)

असन्तुष्टस्य विप्रस्य तेजो विद्या तपो यशः ।
स्रवन्तीन्द्रियलौल्येन ज्ञानं चैवावकीर्यते ॥
असंकल्पाज्जयेत् कामं क्रोधं कामविवर्जनात् ।
अर्थानर्थेक्षया लोभं भयं तत्त्वावमर्शनात् ॥
(७।१५।१९,२२)

यथा स्कन्धशाखानां तरोर्मूलावसेचनम् ।
एवमाराधनं विष्णोः सर्वेषामात्मनश्च हि ॥ (८।५।४९)

अरयोऽपि हि सन्धेयाः सति कार्यार्थगौरवे ।
अहिमूषकवद् देवा ह्यर्थस्य पदवीं गतैः ॥ (८।६।२०)

न संरम्भेण सिध्यन्ति सर्वेऽर्थाः सान्त्वया यथा ॥ (८।६।२४)

प्राणैः स्वैः प्राणिनः पान्ति साधवः क्षणभंगुरैः ।
बद्धवैरेषु भूतेषु मोहितेष्वात्ममायया ॥ (८।७।३९)

तप्यन्ते लोकतापेन साधवः प्रायशो जनाः ।
परमाराधनं तद्धि पुरुषस्याखिलात्मनः ॥ (८।७।४४)

नूनं तपो यस्य न मन्युनिर्जयो
ज्ञानं क्वचित् तच्च न सङ्गवर्जितम् ।
कश्चिन्महांस्तस्य न कामनिर्जयः
स ईश्वरः किं परतो व्यपाश्रयः ॥ (८।८।२०)

सङ्ग्रामे वर्तमानानां कालचोदितकर्मणाम् ।
कीर्तिर्जयोऽजयो मृत्युः सर्वेषां स्युरनुक्रमात् ॥ (८।११।७)

अहो मायाबलं विष्णोः स्नेहबद्धमिदं जगत् ॥
क्व देहो भौतिकोऽनात्मा क्व चात्मा प्रकृतेः परः ।
कस्य के पतिपुत्राद्या मोह एव हि कारणम् ॥
(८।१६।१८-१९)

यावन्तो विषयाः प्रेष्ठास्त्रिलोक्यामजितेन्द्रियम् ।
न शक्नुवन्ति ते सर्वे प्रतिपूरयितुं नृप ॥ (८।१९।२१)

सप्तद्वीपाधिपतयो नृपा वैन्यगयादयः ।
अर्थैः कामैर्गता नान्तं तृष्णाया इति नः श्रुतम् ॥
यदृच्छयोपपन्नेन सन्तुष्टो वर्तते सुखम् ।
न संतुष्टस्त्रिभिर्लोकैरजितात्मोपसादितैः ॥
पुंसोऽयं संसृतेर्हेतुरसंतोषोऽर्थकामयोः ।
यदृच्छयोपपन्नेन संतोषो मुक्तये स्मृतः ॥
(८।१९।२३-२५)

न तद्दानं प्रशंसन्ति येन वृत्तिर्विपद्यते ।
दानं यज्ञस्तपः कर्म लोके वृत्तिमतो यतः ॥
धर्माय यशसेऽर्थाय कामाय स्वजनाय च ।
पञ्चधा विभजन्वित्तमिहामुत्र च मोदते ॥
(८।१९।३६,३७)

सत्यं पुष्पफलं विद्यादात्मवृक्षस्य गीयते ।
वृक्षे जीवति तन्नस्यादनृतं मूलमात्मनः ॥
तद् यथा वृक्ष उन्मूलः शुष्यत्युद्वर्ततें चिरात् ।
एवं नष्टानृतः सद्य आत्मा शुष्येन्न संशयः ॥
अथैतत् पूर्णमभ्यात्मं यच्च नेत्यनृतं वचः ।
सर्वं नेत्यनृतं ब्रूयात् स दुष्कीर्तिः श्वसन्मृतः ॥
(८।१९।३९,४०,४२)

स्त्रीषु नर्मविवाहे च वृत्त्यर्थे प्राणसंकटे ।
गोब्राह्मणार्थे हिसायां नानृतं स्याज्जुगुप्सितम् ॥ (८।१९।४३)

न ह्यसत्यात् परो धर्म इति हो वा च भूरियम् ।
सर्व्रं सोढुमलं मन्ये ऋतेऽलीकपरं नरम् ॥ (८।२०।४)

श्रेयः कुर्वन्ति भूतानां साधवो दुस्त्यजासुभिः ।
दध्यङ्शिबिप्रभृतयः को विकल्पो धरादिषु ॥
सुलभा युधि विप्रर्षे ह्यनिवृत्तास्तनुत्यजः ।
न तथा तीर्थ आयाते श्रद्धया ये धनत्यजः ॥ (८।२०।७,९)

वृथा मनोरथस्तस्य दूरे स्वर्गः पतत्यधः ।
प्रतिश्रुतस्यादानेन योऽर्थिनं विप्रलम्भते ॥ (८।२१।३३)

बिभेमि नाहं निरयात् पदच्च्युतो
न पाशबन्धाद् व्यसनाद् दुरत्ययात् ।
नैवार्थकृच्छ्राद् भवतो विनिग्रहा-
दसाधुवादाद् भृशमुद्विजे यथा ॥ (८।२२।३)

—हरदेव प्रसाद त्रिपाठी

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BY

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[अनन्तापरनाम्नः शेषस्य विषये पौराणिकधारणाया विकास-क्रमोऽत्र लेखे प्रदर्शितः। लोककथानां, लौकिकविश्वासस्य लौकिक धारणायाश्च विकास एव दार्शनिक सिद्धान्तरूपेण संदृश्यते इत्यप्यत्र शेष-विषयिकीं धारणामाधारीकृत्य सर्पदेवताविषयिकीं विदेशेषु प्रचलितां च धारणामाधारीकृत्य प्रदर्शितम्। पुराणेषु शेषोऽनन्तः संकर्षणो बलरामश्च इत्यपि विकल्पितम्। जातीयदेवतारूपेण प्रथमं सर्पस्य कल्पना कृता। सैव कल्पना पश्चात् सृष्ट्युत्पादकस्य जलतत्त्वस्याधारभूतो देवताभूतश्च शेषोऽनन्त इति धारणामापद्यत। शेषशायी च भगवान् विष्णुः पुराणेषु वर्णितः। समग्रसृष्टिप्रलयेऽपि यच्छिष्यते तत्तत्त्वमेव शेष इत्याख्यायते। शेष एव अनन्तो विष्णुश्च। वेदेषु यत्तत्त्वं स्कम्भः (आधारकः) इति कथ्यते, तदनुसारेण पुराणेषु शेषोऽपि समग्रसृष्ट्याः संधारकः प्रोक्तः, पुरुषसूक्ते च 'पुरुषः सहस्रशीर्षः' इत्युच्यते एतां कल्पनामेवानुसृत्य पुराणेषु शेषस्य सहस्रं शीर्षाणि फणा वा कल्प्यन्ते। लोके वैदेशिक-साहित्ये च सर्वत्र सर्पाणां जलेन सह सम्बन्धो मन्यते, तस्या एव मान्य-ताया विस्तारः शेषोऽनन्तः सृष्ट्यारम्भकजलेन सह सम्बद्ध इति।]

The concept of 'Śeṣa' or the 'Cosmic Serpent' seems to be clearly hinted at various places in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa. The sages Sanaka etc. are said to be always hearing Bhāgavata-Purāṇa from the thousand mouths of Śeṣa.[1] He is said to have a thousand-jewelled crown on his thousand heads.[2] He is also called 'Saṁkarṣaṇa' which is identified with Ahaṁkāra in the discourse on the creation of the various elements like '*mahat*' etc.[3] Śeṣa is said to be of white bodily complexion like the stalk of a lotus. He has a blue upper garment and full of golden ornaments properly set.[4]

1. Bhāg. P., Māhātmya, II. 75
2. Ibid. 6, cf.
3. III 26-23 to 25
4. Bhāg. P., VI. 16. 30

Śeṣa Ananta comes to be identified with Balarāma, when it is said that the latter was only an 'aṁśa' (part) of the former born to Devakī as the seventh foetus.[5] The same is called Saṁkarṣaṇa as he was dragged out of the womb of Devakī and placed in Rohiṇī's womb.[6] The etymological explanation hints that Balarāma, the famous Yādava brother of Kṛṣṇa is identified with the cosmic serpent. The identification of Balarāma and the cosmic serpent is more manifest in the account of departure of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma to Mathurā with Akrūra. It is said that on the way Akrūra stopped the chariot along the river Yamunā. The two brothers stayed in the chariot and Akrūra entered the pool of the river Yamunā for a bath. He saw in the waters there, these two brothers in the form of Śeṣa and Kṛṣṇa, even while they were sitting in the chariot itself.[7] The same account is recorded by the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the Brahma-Purāṇa.[8] The Hari-Vamśa casts the whole description of the identification of Balarāma and the serpent Ananta in the setting of Pātāla. The pool is said to be at the bottom of the earth and is identified with the Nāgaloka.[9] The god, who is called Bhāgavata is said to be the lord of the serpents like Vāsukī and others. The river Yamunā is absent in this account, though it can be inferred that the pool is in the Yamunā itself. It seems that in the last account we have recorded, Yamunā gives place to the 'pool' of the Serpent-king.

On closely viewing the whole account, it seems more probable that in all these accounts, originally a 'pool' of a serpent-king was later replaced by the 'pool' (hrada) in the Yamunā, when the account of Kṛṣṇa's life was given prominence. We may jot down the following points from what we have noted :—

(1) The concept of the 'pool of the Serpent.

(2) The Serpent is a great world Serpent.

5. Bhāg. P., X 2. 5
6. Bhāg. P, X. 2. 13 a
7. Bhāg. P., X. 39. 38 ff. 46
8. Viṣṇu P., V. 18. 35 ff.
 and Brahma P., 192. 36 to 41. The whole sub-chp.
9. Hari-Vaṁśa, Visnu-Parva. 26 cf.

(3) Balarāma is only a form of the serpent with Kṛṣṇa, closely associated with it.

We have seen that a third party identifies Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa with the world serpent Śeṣa and the divinity lying in its lap. The account in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa of the restoration of the Brahmin's dead children, takes a step further.[10] It is the same predominent serpent-divinity that takes away the children of the Brahmin ; and it is again he that has the ultimate hand in their restoration. The two-fold divinity—the great world-serpent and the lord in its fold—is in this account ultimately seen by Kṛṣṇa himself along with Arjuna.

It could be clearly seen that the two-fold principle remains common to all the account, yet there is difference in identification. Earlier the serpent and the lord were none else than Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. Now Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa are said to be the 'part' of the serpent. Elsewhere in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, Kapila—the profounder of the Sāṁkhya philosophy—is identified with the *'aṁśa'* of the great Viṣṇu,[11] who has also the serpent form. Hence it is clear that the serpent is different from Balarāma or Kṛṣṇa or Kapila. We finally arrive at the following points :—

(i) The constant association of the water with the serpent.

(ii) The water sometimes takes the form of the ocean and sometimes that of the pool.

This deity 'Serpent' forms kinship with the world-wide concept of the cosmic serpent, which is on the one hand the cause of the whole creation and on the other, the ferocious deity to be zealously propitiated. Thus in the ancient Egyptian belief of the Pyramid and subsequently of the coffin age,[12] he is the spirit of the west abyss and was created from the eye of Atum.[13] Belief in water-places haunted by great serpent-

10. Bhāgavata Purāna, X. 89.122 ff.
11. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, III. 24.10.
12. Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt—Rundle Clark, P. 51.
13. Op. Cit. P. 90.

spirits obtains even in ancient China.[14] The ocean-lord in Japan is a big serpent.[15] A well in Jerusalem was supposed to be controlled by a serpent.[16] Water-spirits in the shape of crocodile-frogs that controlled waters obtain elsewhere.[17] Instances to show serpent-spirit as the haunt of watery-places are numerous.[18] The Babylonian god 'Ea' also had a peculiar serpentine form, though generally he is represented as having a fish-form.[19]

The actual fear of the existence of big acquatic creatures that roam in waters might suggest the idea of all waters being inhabited by the similar creatures. The experience of rain falling from the clouds that roam in the sky would suggest the idea of such acquatic creatures being present in the sky, on the same analogy as that of the 'agini' (of which the terrestrial one is one form) being present in the Antariksha—that is the 'Vaidyutah Agniḥ' as the lightning is called in the Ṛgveda.[20] In such cases, it is the terrestrial experience that would lead to the exaltation, amplification and the sublimation of the same terrestrial idea generating the celestial one. The reservoir of the waters that fall from the skies would also be considered to be controlled by a great serpent.[21]

It is this conception of the serpent that finds expression in Śeṣa—the Great Serpent in the pool of the river Yamunā. Philosophically Śeṣa came to be the world serpent that is the principle

14. Cf. Myths of China and Japan—D. Mackenzie, P. 38.
15. Ibid. P. 41. This Serpent is called in Japanese Language "Oho Watatsuni".
16. Cf. 'Nehemiah'-11-13. Quoted by D. Mackenzie.
17. Folk-lore and legends-Oriental (P. 59) See Frazer-Folklore in Old Testament, Vol. II-P. 420 for similar belief.
18. For which see 'Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics'.-James Hastings. For wide belief in snakes as the guardian of waters and rivers. The conception of the Pātāla region with a great snake and snakes is on the same principle.
19. Cf. Myths of Babylonia and Assyria-D. Mackenzie P. 62.
20. Cf. Ṛg. I-141-2 and Sāyana thereon, also I-164-1 and Sāyaṇa.
21. It is this process that sets the Nairuktikas thinking Ahi-Vrtra to be the cloud, that controls waters.

that 'remains' when everything vanishes[22] and that is why he is limitless' (Ananta) ; but that the limitless principle is the serpent that is at the bottom of all creation, that came out of water can be nothing but the elevation of the physical phenomenon of water being always associated with the reptile. Thus the phenomenon is physical first and metaphysical only after-wards. The progress is from the material to the spiritual, from the physical to the cosmic, from the gross to the minute. When the terrestrial experience, came to be the great ocean, the serpent in the pool becoming the all-powerful Śeṣa or the limitless one—still a serpent.[23]

As the supreme principle that remains in the endless waters of the cosmos, he has his existence with the world down below, but as the supreme supporter of the universe, including the high heavens, he must have a strong hood. Now comes the mystic number 'a thousand' which was already a vedic conception associated with the 'Puruṣa' of the X maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda.[24] The Śeṣa now identified with or supporting the supreme 'Puruṣa' gets the latter's 'heads' transforming them into his 'hoods.' The

22. Cf. Myth and Symbol in Indian Art and Civilization P. 62 About Śesa's figure, Zimmer opines that his is the figure representing the residue that remained after the earth, the upper and internal regions and all their beings, had been shaped out of the cosmic waters of the abyss. The same thought finds expression in Rāmānuja's Gītā-Bhāsya. 7-8 ff. which when translated—becomes "Śesa is the spilling of the plenitude of God's being ; all the entities in the universe, where they exist as bodies, senses, material objects and their causes, with their individuality and characteristics have originated in God and are his Śesa". Matsya-Purāṇa 248. 34 says.

23. Myths of Babylonia and Assyria—D. Mackenzie. preface Part VII. It seems clear that in each great local mythology we have to deal, in the first place, not with symbolized ideas so much as symbolized folk-beliefs of remote antiquity and to a certain degree, of common inheritance.—The student will find footing on surer ground by following the process which exalts the dragon of the folk-tale into the symbol of evil and primordial chaos' as D. Mackenzie suggests, but emerges later on as Śesa—the cosmic serpent, who is identified with the highest God Nārāyaṇa.

24. Ṛgveda, X. 90.

eternal god is thought of as a great supporting 'pillar' (*skambha*) in the Atharva-Veda.[25] We have the mention of a 'pillar' supporting the sky which the Asuras could not climb or cross.[26] The idea found in the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Br. where a huge column is said to support and connect the heaven and the earth,[27] could be recalled here. It is not improbable, hence that the high flown huge thousand-head circle of the cosmic serpent is the combination of this idea of the huge support for the high heavens and the prop of the heaven and the earth.[28]

Thus, from the serpent in the 'pool' of the folk-belief based on actual observation, to the cosmic serpent, supporing the heavens on his hoods and stretching the depth of the world below ; it was a gradual upheaval of human belief expressing the principle that folk-belief acts as the generating seed of the philosophy of the sophisticated.

25. cf. Atharva-Veda, XI. 4.
26. Jaim. Br., I. 125-127.
27. Jaim. Up. Br. I. 20. 10.
28. cf. Ṛgveda, II. 12. 26.

PURĀṆA TRADITION IN BENGAL

By

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[अस्मिन्निबन्धे वङ्गदेशीयपौराणिकपरम्पराया विवेचनं कृतम् । वङ्गदेशे पौराणिकपरम्परा प्राचीना वर्तते । इदं कथ्यते यत् कानिचित् पुराणानि तेषामंशा वा वङ्गप्रदेशे एव रचिता आसन् । एतादृशेषु पुराणेषु ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त-कल्कि-शिव-बृहन्नारदीयपुराणानां निर्देशः क्रियते । पुराणानां बहवो हस्तलेखा वङ्गलिप्यां समुपलब्धा वर्तन्ते, केचन च चतुर्दशपञ्चदश वा शताब्द्यां लिखिता आसन् । ढाकाविश्वविद्यालयीय-पुस्तकालये पद्मपुराणविष्णुपुराणयोर्महाभारतस्य च प्राचीना हस्तलेखाः सुरक्षिता वर्तन्ते । अनेकानां पुराणानां वङ्गीयपाठा अन्यदेशीय-पाठापेक्षया अधिकप्राचीनाः प्रामाणिकाश्चापि सन्ति । देवीभागवतस्य टीकाकर्त्तुः शैवनीलकण्ठस्य मतानुसारेण वङ्गप्रचलितदेवीभागवतस्य पाठः द्रविडपाठापेक्षयाऽधिकसम्बद्धः प्रतीयते । इत्थं पद्मपुराणस्य महाभारतस्य चापि वङ्गीयपाठाः प्राचीनतराः सन्ति । इतिहासपुराणयोष्टीका भारतस्य विभिन्नप्रदेशीयविद्वद्भिः कृताः । अत्र वङ्गीयटीकाकर्त्तृणां विदुषामुल्लेखः कृतः । वङ्गप्रदेशे पौराणिकनिबन्धग्रन्था अपि निर्मिता येषां निर्देशो विदुषा लेखकेन 'पुराण'पत्रिकायां ५, १ अङ्के कृतः । वङ्गप्रदेशे कथकतापाञ्चालीयात्रेत्यादिरूपेण पुराणानां प्रचारः संरक्षणञ्च कृतम् । नानापौराणिकाख्यानानां लोकव्यवहारेषु प्रयोगो दृश्यते ।

वङ्गप्रदेशे लौकिकानां धार्मिककृत्यानामपि पौराणिकाधारो वर्तते । विभिन्नपुराणानां कथानामाधारेण वङ्गभाषायामनेकग्रन्थानां निर्माणं जातम् । भागवतस्याधारेण कृष्णमङ्गलप्रह्लादचरितादिनानाग्रन्थानां निर्मितिर्जाता । इत्थं मार्कण्डेयपुराणस्य देवीमाहात्म्यस्याधारेण दुर्गामङ्गलदेवीमङ्गलकालिकामङ्गलादिग्रन्थानां निर्मितिरभूत् । अनेके ग्रन्था पुराणसंज्ञयाऽपि अभिधीयन्ते यथा वाल्मीकिपुराणम्, शून्य-पुराणम् इत्यादि । किन्तु तेषामाधारभूतं संस्कृतपुराणं नोपलभ्यते । ये वङ्गीयभाषायां पौराणिकसाहित्यस्य लेखका आसन् तेषामपि निर्देशोऽत्र कृतः । खिष्ट्रीयवर्षस्य १९ शताब्द्याः पूर्वंतरपुराणानामेकोऽपि न प्रामाणिकोऽनुवादो आसीत् अनन्तरं च प्रायशः सर्वेषामेव पुराणाना-मनुवादः कृतः । प्राचीनवङ्गीयग्रन्थेषु नानाकथानां समावेशो वर्तते यासु काश्चन पौराणिकाः काश्चन च पुराणेतरसाहित्येभ्यः संगृहीताः । आसां कथानामाकरनिर्देशस्य कार्यमवशिष्टं वर्तते ।]

Purāṇa tradition is fairly old in Bengal. Some of the Purāṇa texts or portions thereof are supposed to have been composed in Bengal. These are *Brahmavaivarta°*, *Kalki°*, *Śiva°*, *Bṛhannāradīya°*, *Bṛhaddharma°*, *Ādi°*, *Āṅgirasa°*, *Kriyāyogasāra* section of the *Padma°*. The literature of the Purāṇas enjoyed immense popularity here. Numerous manuscripts in the Bengali script of different Purāṇas exist in the manuscript libraries of Bengal. Some of the manuscripts are pretty old going back to 14th-15th centuries. The Dacca University library possesses manuscripts of the *Padma°*, *Viṣṇu°* and the *Mahābhārata* copied respectively in 1311, 1388 and 1393 S.E. The date of copying of a manuscript of the *Harivaṃśa* belonging to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat is 1387 S E. The Bengal versions of a number of the Purāṇas are considered to be older and more authoritative. According to Śaiva Nīlakaṇṭha who commented on it, the *Devībhāgavata* text as prevalent in Bengal is coherent when compared with the Drāviḍa text. Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary is therefore based on the former.[1a] The Bengal recension of the *Padma°* is supposed to contain an older text[2] while the Bengali version of the *Mahābhārata* is considered to be superior to the Vulgate.[3]

The Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature has been commented upon by scholars in different parts of India. A fairly good number of such commentaries on different Purāṇas or sections thereof, popular in Bengal, are known to have been produced from time to time by authors hailing from this part of the country too. In this connection reference may be made to the commentary of the *Rāmāyaṇa* by Lokanātha Cakravartī, of the *Mahābhārata* by Arjuna Miśra, of the *Bhagavadgītā* by the famous Madhusūdana

1. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, pp. 209, 274, 289, 308, 340, 341, 345, 351, 358.

1a. देवीभागवतस्य क्वचिद् द्राविडगौडपाठभेदस्य द्वैविध्येपि गौडपाठस्य समञ्जसत्वात् तमालम्ब्यैव यथामति व्याख्यायते । Introductory portion of the Commentary.

2. H. Sarma, *Padmapurāṇa and Kālidāsa*, p. 911.

3. V. S. Sukthankar, *Mahābhārata, Adiparvan, Prolegomena*, p. LX.

Sarasvatī and Baladeva Vidyābhūsaṇa, of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* by Sanātana Gosvāmin, Jīva Gosvāmin and Viśvanātha Cakravartin, of the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* by Gadādhara Tarkācārya, Gaurīvara Śarman, Nṛsiṃha Cakravartī, Gopāla Cakravartī, Raghunātha Cakravartī and Rāma Vācaspati. Many of these works still remain unpublished, while a number are quite well-known.

Bengal also made valuable contributions to a little known type of literature on the Purāṇas, e g, the Purāna Digests, a number of which were composed in Bengal by scholars of the region. A bird's eye view account of these works has already been given in these pages (Vol. V., No. 1, pp. 31-38). People of Bengal took pride in their superiority in the Purāṇa lore. Veṇīnātha in his *Durgāpūjā-paddhati* refers to the comparative lack of Purāṇic culture among the people of Mithilā (North Bihar) indirectly implying its prevalence in Bengal.[1]

Bengal enjoyed the Purāṇas through various forms of representation, e g., *Pāñcāli, Kathakatā* and *Yātrā* or dramatic presentation—forms that occupied important place in the life and society of the region. These included recitation of the Purāṇas and exposition thereof, ceremonial narration of Puranic stories often with considerable embellishments and additions. In common Bengali parlance, we meet with numerous Puranic references testifying to the popularity of Purāṇa stories among the people in general. The implications, however, are often missed at the present. Such Purāṇic heritage is, of course, common to all India, but we may note here some of the Purāṇic ideas that had gone into the very texture of Bengal's mind. Thus *Rāma-rājatva* (Rāma's reign) represents an ideal to be coveted for. Sītā and Sāvitrī are held as ideal wives and Lakṣmaṇa an ideal *devara* or younger brother of the husband. The word Rāma is synonymous with number one, evidently for

[1] पुराणादर्शिनः प्रायो मैथिलाश्च विशेषतः ।
अतस्तेषां लिपौ श्रद्धा न हि कार्या विपश्चिता ॥
—*Saṃskṛta-Sāhitya-Pariṣat*, VII, p. 333.

his being unparallelled. The rain-bow is called *Rāma-dhanu* in Bengali presumably for the supposed enchanting view of the latter. A strictly upright man is tauntingly referred to as Yudhiṣṭhira, the son of dharma, in recognition of the latter's reputation in honesty and truthfulness. His recourse to a palpable lie under the cover of a truth is still remembered through the popular saying *aśvatthāmā hata iti gajaḥ* (Aśvatthāmā is killed, it is the elephant). Draupadī's skilfulness in cooking, Kumbhakarṇa's deep sleep, anger of Durvāsas, promise of Bhīṣma, the progeny of Raktavīja and the lost hope of Triśaṅku are cited as examples. Bengal longs for sons as beautiful as Kārtika. She remembers Vibhīṣaṇa as an internal enemy, Śukra, the one-eyed preceptor of the demons as a designing person, Bhuśuṇḍi crow, presumably Bhuśuṇḍa of *Yogavāśiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* (Nirvāṇa Prakaraṇa, Pūrvārdha, 14-27) as an old haggard with long experience, sage Nārada as a tale-bearer who sows seeds of dissension among relatives, Saṇḍāmārka, evidently Saṇḍa and Amarka, the teachers of Prahlāda as roguish persons. Laṅkā-kāṇḍa is a bitter affray, Dakṣa-yajña a big affair Ṛṣyaśṛṅga of Kali is a person lacking in common sense. Māndhātā's time refers to hoary antiquity. The desires to make an unusually cheap bargain is equated to the eagerness of listening to Akrūra-Saṁvāda with a single pice.

Mythological heroes and incidents play an important part in post-Vedic rituals all over India, being associated with their origin and popularisation. Some of the rites are directly concerned with mythological people. Stories relating to the rites are occasionally different in different parts of the country. The huge and interesting literature that has grown round the Purāṇas in this connection requires to be carefully scrutinised. A number of Bengal rites commemorating mythological heroes are mentioned here. A Special custom in Bengal was the offering of *Arghya* to sage Agastya for three days beginning from the first day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvina. A journey undertaken on the first day of a solar month ir called *Agastya-yātrā* and it is forbidden as Agastya never returned from his journey to the South commenced on this day. Bhīṣmatarpaṇa (offering oblation to Bhīṣma

who had no son) is performed on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha. There is a practice of daily scattering a few drops of oil in the name of Aśvatthāman before anointing one's own body with it. This oil is supposed to give solace to his permanent wound caused by the severence of the head jewel, a natural part of his body. The fourth day of the month of Bhādra is known as the *naṣṭacandra* day, as on that day the moon (*Candra*) outraged the modesty of the wife of his preceptor. Looking at the moon is therefore prohibited on that day. Sāvitrīvrata is observed on the 14th or 15th day of the dark fortnight of Jyaiṣṭha to do honour to satyavān and his faithful wife Sāvitrī. The names of the sage Āstīka and the Divine Bird Garuḍa are uttered at the time of going to bed as in consideration of their influence on serpents; their very names are supposed to be sufficient antedotes against snake-brites.

Metrical works based on the Purāṇas came to be composed in Bengali from medieval times. The titles usually have no reference to names of Purāṇas but they are marked by special incidents or life-stories of important personages. Works primarily based on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* or sections there of have titles like *Kṛṣṇavijaya, Kṛṣṇamaṅgala, Kṛṣṇaprematarangiṇī, Prahlāda-caritra, Dhruvacaritra, Uddhavasaṃvāda, Pārijātaharaṇa* etc. Works pertaining to the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* appear under titles like *Durgāmaṅgala, Devīmaṅgala, Kālikāmaṅgala, Kālikāvilāsa* and *Kālikāpurāṇa* We have of course a number of titles ending with the word Purāṇa but these have either no Sanskrit counterpart or the latter has no correspondance with the Bengali work. There are manuscripts in the Calcutta University and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat of works called the *Vālmīka Purāṇa*, which narrate the previous history of Vālmīki, whose original name according to one version was demon Vṛnda and according to the other demon Vañju. Sītāsuta's *Rāmāyaṇa* is also called *Vālmīki Purāṇa*. Works going by names like *Śūnyapurāṇa, Hākandapurāṇa, Dharmapurāṇa, Anādipurāṇa, Anilapurāṇa* etc. pertain to the story and worship of the folk-deity Dharma. *Durgāpurāṇa*, (B. S. P., 806) describes the arrival of Durgā on the

Himālaya and her worship there. *Kālikāpurāṇa* (B. S. P., 906) describes the marriage of Gaurī resulting in the birth of Gaṇeśa. Another work with the same title by Prāṇavallabha (C. U., 1934) refers to the revelation of Mahākālī before the gods and deals with her greatness. *Brahmapurāṇa* of Mukunda Bhāratī (B. S. P., 289, 2332) gives an account of Purī and its presiding deity Jagannātha. *Harivaṃśa* of Bhavānanda which relates the story of Kṛṣṇa has nothing to do with the famous Sanskrit work of the same name. The *Kauśikapurāṇa* which is mentioned as its source is unknown.

Of the numerous authors who enriched the Puranic literature in Bengali mention may be made of the following: Kṛttivāsa is one of the most popular and earliest writers (15th century). His *Rāmāyaṇa* based on the famous Sanskrit original is embellished with materials taken from various sources. Others who contributed on the same topic include Nityānanda Adbhutācārya (17th century) whose very popular *Adbhutarāmāyaṇa* exercised a good deal of influence on the extant text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* passing in the name of Kṛttivāsa, and Rāmānanda Ghoṣa (18th century) who declared himself as an incarnation of the Buddha. Among writers on the *Mahābhārata* Kāśīrāma Dāsa (17th century) is the most popular to this day. He was preceded by Kavīndra Parameśvara who wrote at the instance of Laskar Parāgal Khān (15th century), Śrīkar Nandī, commissioned by Parāgal's son Chuṭi Khān and Sañjaya who was at one time quite popular in the eastern most part of Bengal. Mālādhara Vasu Guṇarāja Khān was the author of the earliest dated work in Bengali, *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya,* composed during the years 1395-1402 Ś. E. It deals with the life-story of Kṛṣṇa and is based on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Harivaṃśa* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. He was followed by a host of writers of whom Raghunātha Bhāgavatācārya (16th century), author of *Kṛṣṇapremataraṅgiṇī* appears to have enjoyed great popularity. The few works that were produced on the basis of other Purāṇas had little attraction for the people, though folk-stories centering round the

1. **Published by the Dacca University.**

themes dealt with by them were immensely popular. Thus works on the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* are little-known and scarcely stand in comparison in point of popularity with the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala, Annadāmaṅgala* and *Kālīkāmaṅgala* poems of Mukundarāma, Bhāratacandra and others narrating stories of unknown origin about the greatness of Caṇḍī and *Kālī*, aspects of the Mother Goddess.

It requires to be pointed out here that we have scarcely any faithful translation of any Purāṇa text before the 19th century when prose translations of the Purāṇas came to be undertaken and read mainly by the educated few. The earlier popular authors who wrote for the people at large took the liberty of incorporating in their works stories freely taken from various sources, Puranic and otherwise. They were joined in this work by professional singers and reciters who not infrequently tampered with the original text. Some of these stories might have been current among the people from time immemorial or have been concocted by one or other of these authors. A systematic attempt to identify the sources and concoctions is yet to be undertaken. A number of illustrative examples may be given here. The account of the observance of *ekādaśī* by king Rukmāṅgada as found in the *Nāradīya Purāṇa* (Ch. 32-34 of the *Uttarārdha*) has been incorporated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* attributed to kṛttivāsa. Stories of Candrahāsa and Bhadraśīla in this connection met with in the *Aśvamedha-parvan* (ch. 50) of the *Jaimini Bhārata* and in the *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* (ch. 21) have found place in the *Mahābhārata* of Kāśīrāma. Similarly the story of Rāma's worship of Durgā on the eve of his fight with Rāvaṇa found in some editions of kṛttivāsa's Rāmāyaṇa occurs in the *Kālikā-purāṇa* (X. 26-33), the *Mahābhāgavata* (ch. 36, 42, 43, 45, 46, 48) and the *Devībhāgavata* (III. 30. 18-26, 41-61). The source of the abnormal story of Bhagīratha's birth as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kṛttivāsa has been traced in the *Vaśiṣṭha Purāṇa* and the Svarga-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa*, manuscripts of which are deposited

in the University of Dacca.[1] The source of the popular story of the Pāṇḍavas giving shelter to king Daṇḍin in the face of possible friction with Kṛṣṇa is variously mentioned in manuscripts as *Kriyāyogasāra* of the *Padmapurāṇa*, *Jaiminīya Saṁhitā*, *Bṛhat-kūrma-purāṇa* etc.

1. N. K. Bhattasali, critical Edition of the Adikāṇḍa of Kṛttivāsa's Rāmāyaṇa, p. 84.

शिवपुराणीयं दर्शनम्

व्रजवल्लभ द्विवेद

[In this article the learned writer has described and discussed the four main sects of the Śaivas or Māheśvaras mainly on the basis of Vāyu-Saṁhitā of the Śiva-Purāṇa. These four Śaivite sects are variously named in different works; e.g. the Vāyu-Saṁhitā of the Śiva Purāṇa (VII. ii. 31. 173) mentions the four sects as—(1) Śaivas of the Siddhānta-school of Śaivism, (2) Śaivas known as Pāśupatas, (3) Śaivas known as Mahāvrata-dharas, and (4) Śaivas known as Kāpālikas. In Guṇaratna's commentary of the Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya of Haribhadra the Kālamukhas are mentioned in place of the Kāpālkas of the Vāyu-Saṁhitā. Guṇaratna also mentions various subdivisions of these sects, such as Bharaṭa, Bhakta, Laiṅgika, Tāpasa etc. According to this commentator Naiyāyikas are Śaivas and Vaiśeṣikas are Pāśupatas. In the Bhāmatī commentary of the Śaṅkara-bhāṣya of the Brahmasūtras Kāruṇika-sidhāntins are mentioned in place of the Mahāvrata-dharas of the Vāyu-Saṁhitā. Bhāskara in his Bhāṣya of the Tarka-pāda of the Brahmasūtra mentions Kāṭhaka-siddhāntins in place of the Mahāvratadharas. Yāmunācārya in his Āgama-prāmāṇya mentions Kālāmukhas in place of the Mahāvratadharas of the Vāyu-Saṁhitā. The Vāmana Purāṇa also mentions Kālavadana (6. 87; According to most Mss., Kāladamana according to the Veṅkte-śvara edn.) or Kālāsya (6. 87). The names of the four Śaiva sects may be clear from the following table :—

	1	2	3	4
Vāyu-Saṁ.	Siddhāntins	Pāśupatās	Kāpālikas	Mahāvratadharas
Guṇaratna	Śaivas	„	Kālamukhas	„
Bhāmatī	„	„	Kāpālikas	Kāruṇika-siddhantins
Bhāskara	„	„	„	Kāṭhaka-siddhāntins
Yāmunācārya	„	„	„	Kālāmukhas
Vāmana-P.	„	„	„	Kālavadana (Mss.) Kāladamana (Venk.)

The Vāyu-Saṁhitā divides Śaiva Āgamas into two broad divissions—(1) Śrauta, i. e. Vaidika, and (2) Svatantra, i. e. independent or Non-Vaidika. The *Svatantra* Saiva Āgama is also called *Siddhānta,* and is of ten and eighteen kinds. These Svatantra Śaiva Āgamas are said to have been composed by God Śiva himself. The *Śrauta* Śaiva Āgama is said to be of innumerable kinds (hundred Koṭis). The *Pāśupata* is a Śrauta Śaiva seet. In the Uttarabhāga of the Vāyu-Saṁhitā a Pāśupata Saṁhitā was taught to Shri Krishṇa by Upamanyu. In the Pūrvabhāga of the Vāyu-Saṁhitā a dualistic Śaiva Āgama known by the name of *Svatantra Siddhānta* has been propounded, but in the Kailāśa Saṁhitā (sixth) of the Śiva Purāṇa a monistic Śaiva Philosophy following the Śiva-sūtra, Virūpākṣa-pañcāśika etc. has been propounded.

In the Śaiva Āgamas there are mentioned 28 Yogācāryas of Śaivism, from Śveta to Lakulīśa. Each of them had four disciples. The names of all these 112 Yogācāryas are given in the Śata-rudra-Saṁhitā (Adh. 4, 5) and Vāyu-Saṁhitā (Uttara Khaṇḍa, Adh. 9) of the Śiva-Purāṇa. A list of the eighteen Ācāryas or Avatāras, from Lakulīśa to

Vidyāguru, is also given in Guṇratna's commentary of the Ṣaḍ-darśana-samuccaya. Lakulīśa composed a work known as the Pāśupata-sūtra consisting of five Adhyāyas, and the seventeenth Acārya, Rāśīkara, composed the Pañcādhyāyī-Bhāṣya. The works of other Ācāryas are not available now.]

बहुषु पुराणेष्वष्टादशपुराणानामुपपुराणानां च नामावली तत्रत्या श्लोकसंख्या च परिगणिता दृश्यते। तत्र पुराणनामावल्यां बाहुल्येन चतुर्थे स्थाने शिवपुराणस्य स्थितिः। मत्स्यपुराणे[1] न दृश्यते शिवपुराणस्य नाम। तत्र चतुर्थस्थाने वायुपुराणं परिगणितम्। कानिचनोपपुराणानि तत्रोद्धृतानि[2] सन्ति। तत्रापि नास्ति शिवपुराणस्य सङ्केतः। देवीभागवतपुराणे[3] वायुपुराणस्य महापुराणेषु शिवपुराणस्य चोपपुराणेषु गणना। एवं वायुपुराणं शिवपुराणं चाधिकृत्य वर्तते पुराणेषु मतद्वैविध्यम्। शिवपुराणापेक्षया वायुपुराणमेव प्राचीनमित्यैतिहासिका वदन्ति। तदुचितमेव प्रतीयते। यतो हि पवमानप्रोक्तस्य पुराणस्य पाठो हर्षचरितकारस्य बाणभट्टस्य खीष्टषष्ठशताब्दीभवस्य गृहे भवति स्म[4]। शिवपुराणे तु दृश्यते शिवसूत्रस्य,[5] शिवसूत्रवार्त्तिकस्य,[6] विरूपाक्षपंचाशिकायाश्चोल्लेखः[7]। जानन्त्येव विद्वांसः शिवसूत्राणीमानि प्रथमतया वसुगुप्तपादेनाधिगतानीति। वसुगुप्ताचार्यसमयश्चैतिहासिकैः ८२५-८५०

१. मोरसंस्करणम्, पृ० १४५। अस्मिन् निबन्धे शिवपुराणं वामनपुराणं च विहायान्येषां पुराणानां मोरसंस्करणमेवोक्युक्तम्। शिवपुराण-वामनपुराणयोस्तु वेंकटेश्वरसंस्करणम्।

२. तत्रैव, पृ० १४७

३. मोरसंस्करणम्, पृ० २६

४. हर्षचरितम्, निर्णयसागरसंस्करणम्, पृ० ८६

५. चैतन्यमात्मेति मुने शिवसूत्रं प्रवर्तितम् (६।१६।४४)। ज्ञानं बन्ध इतीदं तु द्वितीयं सूत्रमीशितुः (६।१६।४६)।

६. इत्यादिशिवसूत्राणां वार्त्तिकं कथितं मया (६।१६।४६)।

७. श्रीविरूपाक्षनिर्मिते। शास्त्रे पंचाशिके (६।१९।४४)।

ई० निर्धारितः[८]। एवं च वायुपुराणस्य प्राचीनत्वमर्वाचीनत्वं च शिवपुराणस्य सुतरां सिद्ध्यति।

सप्त संहिताः

तदिदं शिवपुराणं पूर्वं द्वादशसहितं लक्षश्लोकप्रमाणकं चासीत्। तदनु व्यासेन चतुर्विंशतिसहस्रश्लोकैः संक्षिप्य सप्तसु संहितासु विभक्तमिदम्। एतदेवाधुनोपलभ्यते। इमाः सन्ति संहितास्तत्र-प्रथमा विद्येश्वराख्या, द्वितीया रुद्रसंहिता, तृतीया शतरुद्राख्या, कोटिरुद्रा चतुर्थी, पंचमी उमासंहिता, षष्ठी कैलाससंहिता, सप्तमी वायुसंहिता चेति। तत्र द्वितीया रुद्रसंहिता सृष्टि-सती-पार्वती-कुमार-युद्धाख्येषु पंचखण्डेषु, सप्तमी वायुसंहिता च पूर्वोत्तरखण्डयोर्विभक्ता। शिवमाहात्म्यमेवात्र प्राधान्येन प्रतिपाद्यमथापि पुराणानां समन्वयशैलीमनुरुद्ध्य विष्णुशिवयोरैक्यं साधितमेव[९]। विभिन्नेषु पुराणेषु वैष्णव-शैव-शाक्तागमानां वर्तते महान् प्रभावः। शिवपुराणं विशेषतस्तस्य सप्तमीं वायुसंहितामधिकृत्यात्र किञ्चित् प्रस्तूयते।

उद्धृतं वाङ्मयम्

अत्राष्टादशविधानामष्टादशपुराणानां रामायणमहाभारतयोश्चोल्लेखो वर्तत एव, एकत्र षड्विंशतिपुराणानि निर्दिश्यन्ते[१०]। तेषां नामानि तु तत्र न दृश्यन्तेन्यत्र वा। अवधेयमत्र विषये विद्वद्भिः। पुराणनामसु भागवतनाम्ना देवीभागवतं[११] गृहीतमत्र। एकत्र[१२] जाबालोपनिषदुट्टंकिता वर्तते। स्थलद्वये[१३] "अतीतः पन्थानं तव च महिमा वाङ्मनसयोरद्व्यावृत्या यं चकितमभिधत्ते

८. द्रष्टव्यम्—डा० कान्तिचन्द्रपाण्डेयरचितस्य "अभिनवगुप्त' इति ग्रन्थस्य द्वितीयं संस्करणम्।

९. विद्येश्वरसंहिताया द्वितीयोऽध्यायः, वायुसंहितायाः पूर्वखण्डस्य प्रथमाध्यायश्च द्रष्टव्यः।

१०. षड्विंशतिपुराणानां मध्येप्येकं शृणोति यः (५।१३।४१)।

११. भगवत्याश्च दुर्गायाश्चरितं यत्र विद्यते। तत्तु भागवतं प्रोक्तं ननु देवीपुराणकम् (५।४४।१२९)।

१२. अग्निरित्यादिभिर्मन्त्रैर्जाबालोपनिषद्गतैः(तः) (१।२४।८)।

१३. रुद्रसंहितायाम् ३।४।११, ३।१२।१८ इत्यत्र च।

श्रुतिरपि" (श्लो० २) इति महिम्नस्तोत्रश्लोको[१४] व्याख्यातो दृश्यते। एकत्र (७ उ०।८।४९) लिंगपुराणम्, द्वित्रेषु स्थलेषु च कामिकादयो[१५] दशाष्टादश शैवागमाः सूचिताः। शिवपार्वत्योः सांख्यवेदान्तसंमतो वादः,[१६] जैनधर्मस्य मरुभूमौ प्रचारः,[१७] दत्तेन सन्यासपद्धतिर्बाधितेति[१८] चोक्तमत्र। अत्रोद्धृतानां शिवसूत्र-वार्तिक-विरूपाक्षपंचाशिकानामुल्लेखः पूर्वं कृत एव।

चतुर्विधाः शैवाः

शैवाः सिद्धान्तमार्गस्थाः शैवाः पाशुपतास्तथा।
शैवा महाव्रतधराः शैवाः कापालिकाः परे॥
(७उ०।३१।१७३)

इत्येवं चतुर्विधाः शैवा अत्र प्रदर्शिताः। त इमे भेदा हरिभद्ररचित-षड्दर्शनसमुच्चयस्य टीकायां गुणरत्नरचितायां तर्करहस्यदीपिकायामप्येवं दृश्यन्ते —

शैवाः पाशुपताश्चैव महाव्रतधरास्तथा।
तुर्याः कालमुखा मुख्या भेदास्ते तु तपस्विनाम्॥
(पृ० ५१) इति।

अपि चाग्रे तत्रैवोक्तम्—"तेषामन्तर्भेदा भरटभक्तलैंगिकादयो भवन्ति। भरटादीनां व्रतग्रहणे ब्राह्मणादिवर्णनियमो नास्ति। यस्य तु शिवे भक्तिः स व्रती भरटादिर्भवेत्। परं शास्त्रेषु नैयायिकाः सदा शिवभक्तत्वाच्छैवा इत्युच्यन्ते। वैशेषिकास्तु पाशुपता इति। तेन नैयायिकशासनं शैवमाख्यायते। वैशेषिकदर्शनं च पाशुपतमिति। इदं मया यथाश्रुतं यथा दृष्टं चात्राभिदधे" (पृ० ५१) इति। अत्र यद् वक्तव्यं तदनुपदमेव वक्ष्यते। शंकराचार्येणेमे माहेश्वरा

१४. पुष्पदन्तरचित एष स्तवः प्राचीनतमः। अत्रत्यः श्लोको भट्टनारायणकण्ठेन मृगेन्द्रागमवृत्तौ (कश्मीरसंस्करणम् पृ० ३०) उद्धृतः।
१५. द्रष्टव्यम्—७पू०।३२।१२
१६. द्रष्टव्यम्—२।३।१३।१-२४
१७. द्रष्टव्यम्—२।५।४-५ अ०, २।५।१२।३१
१८. द्रष्टव्यम्—३।१६।२६

इत्युक्ता ब्रह्मसूत्रतर्कपादभाष्ये। भामतीकारेण च "माहेश्वराश्चत्वारः शैवाः, पाशुपताः, कारुणिकसिद्धान्तिनः कापालिकाश्चेति" इत्युक्तम्। भास्करेण तु माहेश्वराश्चत्वारः—पाशुपताः, शैवाः, कापालिकाः, काठकसिद्धांतिनश्चेति" इत्युक्तं स्वकीयब्रह्मसूत्रतर्कपादभाष्य एव। "आद्यं शैवपरिख्यातमन्यत् पाशुपतं मुने। तृतीयं कालदमनं[१८क] चतुर्थं च कपालिकम्।" (६।८७) इति च चत्वारो भेदाः प्रदर्शिता वामनपुराणे। यामुनाचार्येण त्वागमप्रामाण्ये तेषां नामानि लक्षणानि चैवं स्थापितानि—

"यथा माहेश्वरे तन्त्रे विरुद्धं बहु जल्पितम्।
चतुर्विधा हि तत्सिद्धचर्यामार्गानुसारिणः॥
यथा कापालिकाः कालामुखाः पाशुपतास्तथा।
शैवास्तत्र च कापालं मतमेवं प्रचक्षते॥
मुद्रिकाषट्कविज्ञानात् पुनस्तस्यैव धारणात्।
अपवर्गफलप्राप्तिर्न ब्रह्मावगमादिति॥

तथाहुः—

मुद्रिकाषट्कतत्त्वज्ञः परमुद्राविशारदः।
भगासनस्थमात्मानं ध्यात्वा निर्वाणमृच्छति।

तथा—

कर्णिका रुचकं चैव कुण्डलं च शिखामणिम्।
भस्म यज्ञोपवीतं च मुद्राषट्कं प्रचक्षते॥
कपालमथ खट्वांगमुपमुद्रे प्रकीर्तिते।
आभिर्मुद्रितदेहस्तु न भूय इह जायते॥

एवं कालामुखा अपि समस्तशास्त्रप्रतिषिद्धकपालपात्रभोजन-शवभस्मस्नान-तत्प्राशन-लगुडधारण-सुराकुम्भस्थापन-तत्स्थदेवतार्चनादेरेव दृष्टादृष्टाभीष्टसिद्धिमभिदधानाः श्रुतिबहिष्कृता एव।

तत्रैषा पाशुपतप्रक्रिया—

जीवाः पशव उच्यन्ते तेषामधिपतिः शिवः।
स तेषामुपकाराय पञ्चाध्यायीमचीक्लृपत्॥

१८ क. कालदमनमिति पाठस्तु वेंकटेश्वरसंस्करणे वर्त्तते। अस्य पुराणस्य बहुतमेषु हस्तलेखेषु पुनः कालवदनमिति पाठो विद्यते।

तत्र पंच पदार्थास्तु व्याख्याताः कारणादयः ।
कारणं कार्यं विधिर्योगो दुःखान्त इति ।
उपादानं निमित्तं च व्याख्यातं कारणं द्विधा ।
निमित्तकारणं रुद्रस्तत्कला कारणान्तरम् ॥
मह्यन्तं महदादि कार्यमुदितं तद्वद्विधिर्गीयते ।
गूढाचारमुखश्मशानभसितस्नानावसानः परः ।
योगो धारणमुच्यते हृदि धिया ओकारपूर्वं तथा ।
दुखान्तो हि मतोऽपवर्ग इति ते पंचापि संकीर्तिताः ॥

आत्यन्तिकी दुःखनिवृत्तिर्दुःखान्तशब्देनोक्ता । तामेव निःशेषवैशेषिकात्मगुणोच्छेदलक्षाणां मुक्तिं मन्यन्ते । इयमेव चेश्वरकल्पना "शवानामन्येपां च" (पृ० ४६-४८) इति । इत्थमेव कापालाः कालामुखाश्च रामानुजाचार्येण श्रीभाष्ये तर्कपादे निरूपिताः ।

अत्रोद्धृतेपु चतुर्विधमाहेश्वरप्रतिपादकेपु वचनेपु शैवानां पाशुपतानां चोल्लेखः सर्वत्र विद्यते । महाव्रतधराः शिवपुराणे गुणरत्नटीकायां चोल्लिखिता अन्यत्र न दृश्यन्ते । कापालिका गुणरत्नटीकायां न सन्ति, अन्यत्र तु विद्यन्ते । कालामुखा गुणरत्नटीकायामथ चागमप्रामाण्ये दृश्यन्ते, अन्यत्र न । कारुणिकसिद्धान्तिनो भामत्यामेव, काठकसिद्धान्तिनो भाष्करभाष्य एव, कालदमनाश्च वामनपुराणे च दृश्यन्ते । तत्र शैवानां पाशुपतानां च दार्शनिकाः सिद्धान्ताः प्रतिपादयिष्यन्ते पुरस्तात् । कापालिकानां कालामुखानां च स्वरूपपरिचयायैवात्रागमप्रामाण्यकृतवचनानि विस्तरेण संगृहीतानि, अन्यत्र तदनुपलब्धेः । कापालिकानां चर्या प्रसंगतो भवभूतिविरचिते मालतीमाधवनाटके, राजशेखरकृते कर्पूरमंजरीसट्टके, बाणभट्टविरचिते हर्षचरिते चोपलभ्यते । महाव्रतधराणां कारुणिकसिद्धान्तिनां काठकसिद्धान्तिनां कालदमनानां च स्वरूपपरिचायकः कोपि स्वतन्त्रो ग्रन्थः साम्पतं नोपलभ्यते । आगमप्रामाण्यवदन्यत्रापि केनचित्प्रसंगेन प्रतिपादितानि वचनानि न दृष्टान्यस्माभिः ।

अत एतेषामत्रैवान्भावो भिन्ना वैते सिद्धान्ता इति निर्णयः साम्प्रतं कर्तुं न शक्यते । गुणरत्नेन नैयायिकाः शैवाः, वैशेषिकाः पाशुपता इत्युक्तम् ।

योगाचार्यपरम्परासु वर्तेते न्यायदर्शनप्रवर्तकस्य गौतमस्य, वैशेषिकशास्त्रप्रवर्तयितुः कणादस्य च नामनी। न्यायवार्तिककार आत्मानं महापाशुपतं ख्यापयति नैयायिकस्य भासर्वज्ञस्य पाशुपतशास्त्रव्याख्यातृत्वं प्रसिद्धमेव। एवं च नैयायिकाः शैवाः, वैशेषिकाः पाशुपता इति भेदप्रदर्शने न किमपि प्रमाणमुपलभ्यते। इदं मया यथाश्रुतं यथादृष्टं चात्राभिदधे इत्युक्तवता गुणरत्नेन प्रमाणायानुमोदि एव। वस्तुतस्तु पाशुपतमतवदीश्वरस्य निमित्तकारणत्वमात्रत्वं मोक्षस्य दुःखाभाव-मात्रत्वं चाभ्युपगच्छन्तौ नैयायिकवैशेषिकौ नातीव भिन्नौ। अत एव तयोः समानतन्त्रत्वं प्रसिद्धम्।

द्विविधः शिवागमः

शिवपुराण एवान्यत्र[१९] द्विविधः शिवागमः प्रदर्शितः—श्रौतः, स्वतन्त्रश्चेति तत्र स्वतन्त्रः शैवागमो दशधा अष्टादशधा[२०] च विभक्तः कामिकादिसमाख्याभिः परिचीयते। स्वतन्त्रोऽयं शैवागमः सिद्धान्तपदवाच्यः। "सिद्धान्तशब्दश्च पंकजादिशब्दवद् योगरूढ्या शिवप्रणीतेषु कामिकादिषु दशाष्टादशसु तन्त्रेषु प्रसिद्धः" इति ह्युक्तमघोरशिवाचार्येण रत्नत्रयोल्लेखिन्याम्" (पृ० ५)। श्रौतस्तु शतकोटिप्रविस्तारः। यत्र पाशुपतं व्रतं ज्ञानं चोच्यते। स च पञ्चविधः। क्रियातपोजपध्यानदानात्मकानि पंच पर्वाणि सन्ति तत्र। तदिदं शास्त्रं चत्वारः ऋषयः संक्षिप्योपदिशन्ति रुरु-दधीचि-अगस्त्य-उपमन्युनामानः। अत्र हि चर्या-द्यात्मा चतुर्विधो धर्म उच्यते। तद्यथा—

ज्ञानं क्रिया च चर्या च योगश्चेति।
चतुष्पादः समाख्यातो मम धर्मः सनातनः।
पशुपाशपतिज्ञानं ज्ञानमित्यभिधीयते।
षडध्वशुद्धिर्विधिना गुर्वधीना क्रियोच्यते।

१९. द्रष्टव्यः—वायुसंहितायाः पूर्वखण्डस्य द्वात्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः।

२०. शिवपुराणे एतेषां नामानि कुत्रापि न दृश्यन्ते। अन्यत्रेत्थं त वर्णिताः कामिक-योगज, चिन्त्य, मौकुट-अंशुमत्-दीप्त कारण-अजित-सूक्ष्म-सहस्रादस, विजयनिश्वास-मद्‌गीत-पारमेश्वर-मुखबिम्ब-सिद्ध-सन्तान-नारसिंह-चन्द्रांशु, वीरभद्र-आग्नेय-स्वायम्भुव-विसर-रौरव-विमल-किरण-ललित-शौरभेया अष्टादश। अंगोपांगभेदेन २०७ इमे आगमा भवन्ति। एतेषां नामानि पाण्डिचेरीतः प्रकाशिते रौरवागमे द्रष्टव्यानि।

वर्णाश्रमप्रयुक्तस्य मयैव विहितस्य च ।
ममार्चनादिधर्मस्य चर्याविहितस्य च ।
यदुक्तेनैव मार्गेण मय्यवस्थितचेतसः ।
वृत्यन्तरनिरोधो हि योग इत्यभिधीयते[२१] इति ।

सोऽयं चतुर्विधो धर्मो धौम्याग्रजेनोपमन्युना श्रीकृष्णायोपदिष्टोत्र वायुसंहिताया उत्तरभागे संगृहीतो दृश्यते । अत्र प्रतिपादितश्चतुर्विधो धर्मो यद्यपि पाशुपतशास्त्रप्रतिपाद्यत्वेन प्रदर्शितः, तथापि स श्रौतज्ञानापेक्षया स्वतन्त्रं सिद्धान्ताख्यं गणकारिकां सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहधृतलकुलीशपाशुपतदर्शनं वा । सिद्धान्ताख्येषु शैवागमेषु केचनोपलभ्यन्ते । ते च सर्वज्ञानयोगक्रियाचर्याख्येषु चतुर्षु पादेषु विभक्ताः सन्ति । पाशुपतशास्त्रस्य तु न कोप्यागम ईदृशः साम्प्रतं दृश्यते । अत्र स्थाने स्थाने लकुलीशस्य श्वेतादिलकुलीशान्तगुरुपरम्परायाश्चोल्लेखेन वायुसंहिताया उत्तरभागे परवर्ति साम्प्रतमेकैवोपलभ्यत इति वक्तुं शक्यते । अत्र प्रतिपादितानां सिद्धान्तानां शैवागमप्रतिपादितसिद्धान्तैर्वैषम्यमपि दृश्यते । तच्च यथावसरमग्रे प्रदर्शयिष्यते । वायुसंहितायाः पूर्वभागे स्वतन्त्रः सिद्धान्ताख्यो द्वैतवादी शिवागमः प्रतिपादितः षष्ठ्यां कैलाशसंहितायां दृश्यते द्वैतदर्शनं शिवसूत्र-विरूपाक्षपञ्चाशिकानुसारि । सम्पूर्णे शिवपुराणे स्थाने स्थाने पाशुपतसूत्रप्रतिपादितं पञ्चब्रह्मोपासनं भस्मोद्धूलन-रुद्राक्षधारणादिकं चोपलभ्यते । तदत्र सर्वं संगृह्य प्रदर्शयिष्यते ।

पाशुपतागमप्रामाण्यम्

पाशुपतागमः श्रौत इति पूर्वं प्रतिपादितम् । यद्यपि शंकराचार्येण पाशुपतं मतं पांचरात्रमतं च तर्कपादे खण्डितम्, अथापि—

सांख्यं योगः पांचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतं तथा ।
आत्मप्रमाणान्येतानि न हन्तव्यानि हेतुभिः ॥

इत्यादिवचनानुगुण्येन स्मृतिकारैरेषां प्रामाण्यं स्थापितम् । "त्रयी सांख्यं योगः पशुपतिमतं वैष्णवमिति" (७ श्लोक) इति हि महिम्नस्तुतिकारेण

२१. द्रष्टव्यम्—शिवपुराणम्, ७ उ०।१०।३०-३२

पुष्पदन्तेनोक्तम् । अत्र विशेषजिज्ञासुभिः पुराणपत्रिकायाः २ भागे १-२ अङ्कयोः डा० वासुदेवशरण-अग्रवालमहोदयानां "षट्कुलीयाः" इति शीर्षको निबन्धः, यामुनाचार्यस्यागमप्रामाण्यम्, भट्टोजोदीक्षितस्य तन्त्राधिकारिनिर्णयः, याज्ञवल्क्य-स्मृतेरपरार्ककृता टीका चावलोकनीयाः । पाशुपतसूत्र-कौण्डिन्यभाष्य-पुराणादि-प्रतिपादितं पाशुपतं शास्त्रं सर्वथा वैदिकं स्मार्तं चार्थमनुसरति । अत्र पशु-पतेर्यजुर्वेदानुसारिणी पूजापद्धतिः, यमनियमानां दार्ढ्येनानुसरणम्, "संमानाद् ब्राह्मणो नित्यमुद्विजेत विषादिव । अमृतस्येव चाकांक्षेदवमानस्य सर्वदा" । (२।१६२) इति मनुवचनपालनार्थं[22] क्राथन-स्पन्दन-मन्दनादिक्रियाणामुपदेशो वर्तते । वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थाप्यत्र दृश्यते । परवर्तिनि काले पाशुपतप्रक्रिया काचन विकृतिपवाप । तत्प्रयुक्तान्येव पाशुपतागमनिन्दावचनानि क्वचन पुराणादिषूपलभ्यन्ते । सर्वथापि तु न व्यभिचरति प्रामाण्यं पाशुपतागमः । शंकराचार्येणाप्यत्र केषुचिद-शेष्वेवाप्रामाण्यबुद्धिराहिता, न तु सर्वथा प्रामाण्यमुद्घोषितम् । अतः सांख्य-योगन्यायवैशेषिकवत् पाशुपतागमस्य श्रौतस्मार्तपरम्परायामेवान्तर्भावस्तद्वदेव च प्रामाण्यमव्याहतम् ।

योगाचार्याः

[23]विशुद्धमुनिकृते आत्मसमर्पणेऽष्टाविंशतिसंख्याका योगाचार्या निरूपिताः ।

त इमे—

श्वेतः सुतारो दमनः सुगोत्रः कंक एव च ।
लोकाक्षिजैगीषव्यौ च तथैव दधिवाहनः ॥
ऋषभो मुनिरुग्रश्च चित्रार्थालिश्च गौतमः ।
वेदशिरा गोकर्णश्च गुहावास्तिशिखण्डिनौ ॥
जटामाली चाट्टहासो दारुको लांगली तथा ।
श्वेतः शूल्यथ दण्डी च सहिष्णुः सोमशर्मकः ॥
लकुलीशश्चावतारा अष्टाविंशतिसंख्यकाः ।

२२. असुप्तस्येव सुप्तलिंगदर्शनम् क्राथनम् । वाय्वभिभूतस्येव शरीरावयवानां कम्पनं स्पन्दनम् । उपहतपादेन्द्रियस्येव गमनं मन्दनम् (गणकारिका-व्याख्या, पृ० १६)

२३. द्रष्टव्यम्—गणकारिकायां २५ पृष्ठे ।

अष्टाविंशतिसंख्याकानामेषां योगाचार्याणां प्रत्येकं चत्वारः शिष्याः श्रूयन्ते । संहत्य ११२ संख्यकाः शिष्या भवन्ति । सर्वेषामेषां नामानि शिवपुराणे स्थलद्वये दृश्यन्ते । एका नामावली तृतीयायाः शतरुद्रसंहितायाश्चतुर्थे पंचमे चाध्याये, अपरा सप्तम्या वायुसंहिताया उत्तरखण्डस्य नवमेऽध्याये चास्ति । तत्र प्रथमा वायुपुराणस्य—२३तमाध्यायानुसारिणी, अपरा च लिंगपुराणीयसप्तमाध्यायस्थनामावलीमनुसरति । योगाचार्यानामावली कूर्मपुराणस्य ५३तमेऽध्याये, स्कन्दपुराणस्य माहेश्वरखण्डान्तर्गतकौमारिकाखण्डस्य ४०तमेऽध्यायेपि च दृश्यते । अत्र प्रथमेऽन्तिमे च नामनि नास्ति विसंवादः, अन्यत्र त्वेवं दृश्यते । अत्रावधातव्यं मनीषिभिः । [24]कारवणमाहात्म्ये त्वेवं दृश्यते—

आदिकल्पावसाने तु ब्रह्मकल्पे पुरातने ।
ब्रह्मणो मानसः पुत्रो अत्रिनामा च विश्रुतः ॥
अत्रिस्तु जनयामास आत्रेयं नाम नामतः ।
आत्रेयादग्निशर्मापि अग्निशर्मसुतः शुचिः ॥
सोमशर्मेति विख्यातो धर्मशीलो जितेन्द्रियः ।
सोमशर्मसुतो जातो विश्वरूपो द्विजोत्तमः ॥
विश्वरूपादहं जातो बालरूपधरो हरः ।

अहं लकुलीश इत्यर्थः । यथा च लकुलीशवंशावली दृश्यते । श्वेतादिलकुलीशान्तानामष्टाविंशतियोगाचार्याणां नामावली उपर्युद्धृता । लकुलीशादिविद्यागुर्वन्तानामष्टादशावताराणामपरा नामावली गुणरत्नकृतषड्दर्शनसमुच्चयटीकायामथ च राजशेखरसूरिकृते षड्दर्शनसमुच्चये[25] दृश्यते । सा चेत्थम्—

लकुलीशः, कौशिकः, गार्ग्यः, मैत्र्यः, कौरुषः, ईशानः, पारगार्ग्यः, कपिलाण्डः, मनुष्यकः, (अपर) कुशिकः, अत्रिः, पिंगलः (पिंगलाक्षः), पुष्पकः, बृहदार्यः (बृहदाचार्यः), अगस्तिः, सन्तानः, राशीकरः, विद्यागुरुश्चेति ।

२४. द्रष्टव्यम् - गणकारिकायां ५१ पृष्ठे ।

२५. द्रष्टव्यम्—गणकारिकायां २६, ३५ पृष्ठयोः ।

अत्र प्रथमो लकुलीशः पंचाध्यायात्मकस्य पाशुपतसूत्रस्य रचयिता, सप्तदशो राशीकरश्च पञ्चाध्यायीभाषस्य। अन्येषामाचार्याणां कापि कृतिः साम्प्रतं नोपलभ्यते। अनुभवस्तोत्रकर्ता विद्याधिपतिरभिनवगुप्तेन तन्त्रसारे[२६] उद्धृतः। अस्य द्वित्राः श्लोका अपि काश्मीरशैवदर्शनग्रन्थेषूद्धृताः सन्ति। विद्यागुरुर्विद्याधिपतितो भिन्नोऽभिन्नो वेत्यधुना वक्तुं न शक्यते।

२६. द्रष्टव्यम्—पृ० ३१।

SOME ASPECTS OF VĀMANA-PURĀṆA

By

B. H. Kapadia

[निबन्धेऽस्मिन् वामनपुराणविषयको विचारः कृतः। वामन-पुराणस्य अष्टादशपुराणेषु परिगणना कृता वर्तते। अस्य पुराणस्य नाम वैष्णव-पुराणानुसारि किन्तु पद्मपुराणे अस्य गणना राजसपुराणेषु कृता। डा० हरप्रसादशास्त्रिण, मतानुसारं शैवपुराणम् एतद्। दीक्षितारमहोदयस्यापि एतदेवाभिमतम्। विदुषां ध्यानमस्मिन्पुराणे यथोचितं नासीत्। नारदीयपुराणे अस्य पुराणस्य यद्विवरणं दृश्यते तदनुसारेण इदं पुराणम् दशसहस्रश्लोकात्मकमासीत्। अस्य वक्ता ब्रह्मा आसीत्। किन्तु सम्प्रति एतद्विवरणं न संघटते। वर्तमाने पुराणे तु श्लोकसंख्या षट-सहस्राण्येव। वामनपुराणे उपलब्धानां विभिन्नछन्दसां संख्याऽत्र निर्दिष्टा विषयविवेचनद्वारा अस्य पुराणस्य निर्माणकालविषये अथ च निर्मितस्थानविषयेऽपि लेखकमहोदयेन स्वमतं स्थापितम्। अस्मिन् पुराणे पुराणपञ्चलक्षणं सम्यक् न संघटते। अथवा अस्य पुराणस्य निर्माणे पञ्चलक्षणस्य विचारो न कृतः। यद्यपि विष्णोरवताराणां विशेषतो वामनावतारस्य वर्णनमत्र दृश्यते। किन्तु शिवस्य माहात्म्यं विशेषरूपेण दृश्यते। अस्य पुराणस्य विषयविवेचनमत्र विशेषरूपेणकृतम्। भौगोलिक-स्थानानां तीर्थानाञ्चापि वर्णनमस्मिन् पुराणे दृश्यते यस्य लेखकमहोदयेन विशदरूपेण निर्देशः कृतः। विषयविवेचनेन इदं स्पष्टं भवति यद् अस्य पुराणस्य अष्टादशपुराणेषु विशिष्टं स्थानमस्ति।]

The Vāmana-Purāṇa (Vā. P.) is one of the eighteen Mahā-purāṇas. It is mainly given to the glorification of Kurukṣetra and the adjoining holy place and in connection with this glorification legends of demons and gods have been narrated. The contents of this Purāṇa do not agree with the five characteristics that go to characterise a Mahāpurāṇa. It almost lacks the five (themes characteristic) of the older Mahāpurāṇas. Its position in the list of 18 Mahāpurāṇas as given in the Viṣṇu-P. is fourteenth, according to Vāyu it is eighth and according to Alberuni it is sixth. Like a few other Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas the present Vā. P. is named after one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu. So it is a Sāttvika purāṇa but according to Padma-P. it is a Rājasa P. Dikshitar has

classified it as a Śaiva Purāṇa. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri classifies it as a sectarian work and it is a handbook of Śaiva sects. According to Hazra it is an Upapurāṇa and not a Mahāpurāṇa.

Among the 18 Mahāpurāṇas Vā. P. was not so much known for a long time. Adolf Holtzmann considers it as an unimportant work. M. Winternitz in his "History of Indian Literature" Vol. I describes it only in seven lines. Paul Hacker has analysed and discussed important passages from this Purāṇa. After this A. Hohenberger discusses about the Vā. P. in his article "Das Vāmanapurāṇa" published in, Indo-Iranian Joural, Vol. VII, 1963 No. 1 pp. 1-57. H. H. Wilson in his Purāṇam gives four pages (77—80) for the description of this Purāṇa. In "Purāṇa Vivecana," Durgaśankara K. Shastri gives information about it from pp. 196-97. In "Studies in Epics and Purāṇas," Dr. A. D. Pusalker also gives very little information about this Purāṇa. In "Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs", Dr. R. C. Hazra devotes pp. 76-92 for this. Thus, we can safely say, that this Purāṇa has not engaged the attention of scholars.

In the Nārada-Purāṇa in Adhyāya 105 we get the following information about the Vā. P. :—O child, listen, I describe to you the Vā. P. which is rich in the legends about त्रिविक्रम i. e. Viṣṇu, which has 10,000 verses, which has the account of कूर्मकल्प, and which has two parts and is capable of giving good to the narrator and the listner.

According to the Matsya-P. (53. 44-45) and Skanda-P. (VII. 1, 2, 63-64) Vā. P. is thus characterised :—

त्रिविक्रमस्य माहात्म्यमधिकृत्य चतुर्मुखः ।
त्रिवर्गमभ्यधात्तच्च वामनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥
पुराणं दशसाहस्रं कूर्मकल्पानुगं शिवम् ।

But, the present Purāṇa is not narrated by Brahmā nor in it (is there) the mention of the Kūrmakalpa. It is narrated by Pulastya to Nārada and not even by Lomaharṣaṇa to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest as is generally found with other Purāṇas. Hence, Hazra considers it as an Upapurāṇa. The Kūrma P.

(I. I. 19) and Garuḍa P. (I. 227. 19) mention it among the Upa-purāṇas.

According to Nā. P. and the Mat. P. the total number of verses in the Vā P. is 10,000. According to the Nā P. it is in two parts, the Pūrva-bhāga and the Uttara-bhāga. The Uttara bhāga is also known Bṛhadvāmana. It has four Saṃhitās: Māheśvarī Saṃhitā, Bhāgavatī Saṃhitā, Saurī Saṃhitā and Gāṇeśvarī Saṃhitā. Each Saṃhitā has thousand verses. In Māheśvarī Saṃhitā there is the glorification of Kṛṣṇa and his worshippers, in Bhāgavatī Saṃhitā there is the story of the incarnation of Jagadambā, in Saurī S. there is the Māhātmya of the sin destroying Sūrya and in Gāṇeśvarī S. there is given the life sketch of Gaṇeśa. At present the Uttara Khaṇḍa of the Vā. P. is not available. The pūrva-bhāga has 95 Adhyāyas and so it is called an Apūrṇa Purāṇa. The work as is now available has 95 Adhyāyas with a total number of 5813 verses. Considering the prose passages that are found in it the work can roughly come to the extent of 6,000 verses. The contents of the Pūrva bhāga as given in the Nār. P. tallies fully with those of our present text.

The traditional account about the Vā. P. is that Pulastya narrated it first to Devarṣi Nārada, from Nārada it came to Vyāsa, from Vyāsa to Romaharṣaṇa and he narrated it to the assembled sages in the Naimiṣāraṇya. It is thus related in नारदपुराण Adh. 105 :—

शृणु वत्स प्रवक्ष्यामि पुराणं वामनाभिधम् ।
त्रिविक्रमचरित्राढ्यं दशसाहस्रसंख्यकम् ॥
कूर्मकल्पसमाख्यानं वर्गत्रयकथानकम् ।
भागद्वयसमायुक्तं वक्तृश्रोतृशुभावहम् ॥ further we get :
पुलस्त्येन समाख्यातं नारदाय महात्मने ।
ततो नारदतः प्राप्तं व्यासेन सुमहात्मना ॥
व्यासात्तु लब्धवान् वत्स तच्छिष्यो रोमहर्षणः ।
स चाख्याति विप्रेभ्यो नैमिषस्थेभ्य एव च ।
एवं परंपराप्राप्तं पुराणं वामनं शुभम् ॥

Thus the framework of the Vā. P. is formed by the dialogue between Nārada and Pulastya. Nārada asks questions whose answers are given by Pulastya. In a long chapter Pulastya retreats and Lomaharṣaṇa appears as an interlocutor from 22.47 to 43.14 wherein he is mentioned in all for 32 times. After this Lomaharṣaṇa imparts the words to Sanatkumāra who is in the vicinity of the Sthāṇutīitha (43.4 to 50. I) and he narrates in 43. 15 what he had once heard from Brahmā. On the whole we can say that the work is not systematic, there is little order that is discernible, the body of the work consists of replies of Pulastya to the enquiries of Nārada. It is however, more tolerant in character than other Purāṇas as its homage to Śiva and Viṣṇu are with tolerable partiality.

Though a Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇa the Vā. P. commences with the story of Śiva as to how he cuts off his head in a peculiar way. Then there is the account of the dehatyāga of Satī, then the origin of the Liṅga worship and many things connected with Śiva find a place in this Purāṇa. The story connected with the Vāmanāvatāra Viṣṇu is recounted thrice. God Vāmana comes to the sacrifice of the daitya chief Bali as a dwarf, asks for a tract of land measuring three strides for sacrificial purpose and subsequently takes his all encompassing steps. In the two narratives the Daitya chief is Bali while in the third he is named as Dhundhu.

The work is mostly composed in verses except for three prayers, the innumerable names and long statements about Viṣṇu (26 and 93) and about Śiva (44) are in prose. Like the Epic literature the predominent metre is the śloka Besides the Śloka the author who is well acquainted with the poetic requirements uses with great felicity other meteres as for example : Upajāti (452), which stands at the top, Vaṃśastha (83), Indravajrā (72), Upendravajrā (24), Vasantatilakā (21), Śālinī (II), Sragdharā (9), Śārdūlavikrīḍita (3) Indravaṃśa (3), Āryā (2), Puṣpitāgrā (2), Lalitapadā (2), Rucirā Mālinī (2), Pṛthvī (I), and Sikhariṇī (I). In this Purāṇa innumerable enchanting similes and images are also found.

From the close examination of the contents we can surmise about time and the place where this was possibly composed. A search should be instituted as regards the frequency of the Tīrtha that is mentioned in it. The South-Western, the Western, the North-Western and the Northern parts of India are referred to with a certain predilection. To the South-Western region the Southern Gokarṇa and the Malaya mountain are mentioned. In the North-Western the Indus and its tributaries, the Irāvatī are to be named. On the Himālaya is the repeated mention of Badarī or Badrikā. The author appears to be familier with the rivers of the Gangetic delta. Kurukṣetra is widely reputed, as well as the river Sarasvatī. Among the Tīrthas that are located here the oft mentioned ones are Pṛthūdaka and the Sthāṇutīrtha. In Kurukṣetra or Kurujāṅgala, it is narrated in one of the legends, that the horse sacrifice of Bali was obstructed by Viṣṇu (89. 52; 90- 48). In the enumeration of things and beings which are prominent among their domain Kurujāṅgala is considered as the best among the fields and Pṛthūdaka the best among the Tīrthas (12. 45). From such passages it is quite probable that the region of its composition is to be searched in one such place.

To decide the date of a Purāṇa is one of the knottiest problems. The date of Matsya P. is the later part of the 7th or the 8th Cent. A. D. The Vā. P. in its present form which not only presupposes the Matsya P. but also the Kūrma P. (12. 48) can never be assigned a date prior to the 8th Cent. A D. Even though a few chapters may go back to earlier periods as regards the date of the present Vā. P. there are two divergent opinions viz. those of Haraprasad Shastri and H. H. Wilson. Hazra does not agree with these two views and after ably discussing the material in his work from pp. 78-92 he concludes that the date falls either in the ninth or the tenth century A. D. and most probably in the former. The present Purāṇa though comparatively a late work had not come down to us in an unadulterated form. The interpolations were earlier than 1050 A. D. as could be shown from quotations from certain chapters.

The five characteristics of a Purāṇa as enumerated in the Matsya P. 53. 65, Kūrma. P. I. I. 12 are not effectively given attention to in the Vā. P. These characteristics are adhered to in a very slip-shod manner. Thus, Sarga is partially discussed in chs. 2, 43 and 49. Pratisarga is dealt with in a cursory manner in these chapters and also occasionally mentioned in 11. 45 ; 47.3. Short statements about Vamśa (geneology) are given in 23. I-5 ; 47. I-7. The Manvantarāṇi only serve as the description of the origin of the momentary Maruts (71 and 72). In this Purāṇa the Vaṃśānucaritam are hardly worth mentioning. Thus possibly Hazra is tempted to consider this purāṇa as an Upapurāṇa.

Even though there is the description of the Vāmanāvatāra of Viṣṇu thrice and even though there is the glorification of Viṣṇu by his worshippers as well as by Brahmā, Śiva and others, still to this original Vaiṣṇavite setting afterwards Saivite material was added. The legends pertaining to Śiva are as numerous as those of Viṣṇu legends and the Śaiva material present in our present Purāṇa and the title of the work shows that in its earlier form it may have been a Vaiṣṇavite work but might have been later on recast by Śiva worshippers. This fact will become more clear when we cast a glance on the contents of this Purāṇa.

The real content of this Purāṇa is as a result of the questions which Nārada puts to Pulastya in the beginning of the work and in the course of the Purāṇa. We can divide the main contents under the following eight heads : The creation of the universe, worship of Viṣṇu, worship of Śiva, their identification, duties and virtues of the four castes, images of gods, and the Tīrthas.

The creation theory and the geography of Bhāratavarṣa is as found in most of the Purāṇas. As regards the three incarnations of Viṣṇu as Vāmana the first incarnation legend about the dwarf is dependent on Harivaṁśa (3. 65. 1-69, 17) and on Matsya P. (244. 10, 246. 96). The first legend occurs in Chapters 23-30, the second in chapters 74-77 and the third in 78. Viṣṇu is considered as Nārāyaṇa in 6-8, Viṣṇu as the enemy of Mura in

60-61, Viṣṇu as the fulfiller of the wish of Kuru in 22, there is the glorification of Viṣṇu in Adhyāyas 87-95. The Purāṇa, though Vaiṣṇavite, starts with the sacrifice of Dakṣa and its destruction (1-5), in the second and the third Adhyāyas there is the description of Śiva as a Kapālin and the origin of the Tīrtha Kapālamocana (3.1-51). In the sixth chapter there is the description of the burning of Kāmadeva. Chapters 51-53 are concerned with the birth and the marriage of Umā with Śiva. It may be observed that Śiva puts to test the mind of Umā by abusing the naked Śiva whom she wished to make her lord. The dialogue between the two reminds one of Kālidāsa's Kumāra-sambhava.[1] Chapter 54 describes the birth of Vināyaka, 57 is concerned with the birth and the six mouths of Kārtikeya. 58 is concerned with the killing of Mahiṣa and Tāraka. Śiva's favour on Andhaka are in chs. 8-10 and chapters 56-70 are concerned with the defeat of Andhaka who was enamoured of Pārvatī and whom he wanted to make as his wife. Chapter 47-48 deal with the absolution of king Vena and the adhyāyas is concerned with the Sthāṇutīrtha too. Adhyāyas 11-15 deal with the worshipper Sukeśin. A detailed description of the Sthāṇutīrtha is found in ch. 44, the Liṅga and the Liṅga worship is dealt with in chs. 45-46. There are 35 millions of Liṅgas (46.1-59). Brahmā guilty of incest goes Sthāṇutīrtha and worships the Liṅga of Śiva (49.1-51). In ch. 67 Viṣṇu and Śiva are considered as unity. With the change of weapons Śiva and Viṣṇu conquor the Asura chief Jalodbhava (81.18-30). Thus, the main contents of the Vā. P. show that it is equally disposed towards Viṣṇu and Śiva. Besides these topics dealing with the two gods as in the other Purāṇas the Vā. P. also discusses the four castes, the āśramas and the corresponding duties that are to be performed. (14, 74, 75 etc.).

The concept of Viṣṇu as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and other incarnations leads to its representation in the form of images and idols. Idols with two, four and many arms, with multitudes of weapons, in yellow garment, on riding Garuḍa are described. A

1. Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava, 5. 30–86.

further step from this is the connection of the gods with constellations and the Zodiac as well as with the different months, (61.53-70). An image of Śiva which is associated with the zodiac, the planets and the rāśis is described towards the end of the description of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa (5.30-42). The images of gods are prescribed as definite practices among religious duties. On the eleventh of the bright half of a month Viṣṇu is to be worshipped by means of leaves, flowers, fruits, ghee, sesamum, rice, corn, gold, pearls, clothes and with the juice of various tastes.

It is the special province and privilege of Purāṇas to deal with Vratas and the Tīrthas. In the Vā. P. the three Vratas that are peculiar are: Nakṣatrapuruṣavrata, the Aśūnyaśayana-dvitīyā kālāṣṭamīvrata and the Taptakṛcchravrata. Let us turn to these vratas with a little closeness.

Chapter 80 is fully occupied with this topic. Accounts about this sort of worship of Viṣṇu are also found in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira (105) and Matsya P. 54. To the different limbs and parts of the body of Viṣṇu different rāśis are assigned. The starting point is the two legs of the idol of Viṣṇu. The Nakṣatra Mūla is assigned to it. The top of the head is assigned the constellation Ardrā. In the performance of this Vrata the Brāhmaṇas are to be richly rewarded. The most important gifts are: the umbrella, sandles, clothes, corn, ghee, gold, milch cow. One who is experienced in the Veda and a good astrologer receives special presents (80. 27-29). The performance of this Vrata is described as capable of destroying sins and is expressly recommended by quoting the examples of Bhṛgu, Arundhatī, Rambhā, Tilottamā, Aditi and the king Purūravas. In the Matsya-P. special formulas are given for the limbs of the gods and the constellations.

The second Vrata is in the service of both Viṣṇu and Śiva. A detailed description is given of the time at which the gods go to sleep. Hari goes to sleep when the Sun is in the sign Mithuna on the 11th of the bright half of the month, Rāma on the 13th and on

the full Moon day the husband of Umā etc. (16. 6-17). When the gods sleep the rainy season starts. The worship of Viṣṇu attains its climax in the words: O you infinite one, with your three steps and the world as the dwelling place you are never separated from Lakṣmī, so in view of your grace let our dwelling be never empty. O Lord of the gods, as your bed is never empty so let the destroyed state of a householder be never repeated for me. The gods awaken when the constellation scorpion is illumined, Hari in the sign Libra. Śaṅkara sleeps in the month Nabhasya on the eighth day of the dark of the month when the Sun is in conjunction with the constellation Mṛgaśiras. The worship of Śiva for the six months is with the words: "Be merciful, I am given to sufferings. You are the lord. Bring about the complete destruction of my misery." Same rich gifts for the Brāhmaṇas are prescribed. In the prescribed manner the god with the animal in the banner is to be worshipped for the full one year. According to the word of Śiva the worshipper attains everlasting world (16.1-66).

The Taptakṛcchravrata is recounted by Vāsudeva to gods as purificatory and one is able to see god Śiva. It starts with the bath in milk and other liquids and one has to mutter the Śatarudrīya given in the Veda. While completing it one has to live for three days on hot water, for three more days on hot milk, and for further three days on hot ghee and for further three days maintain on pure air. With regard to this the quantity prescribed is 12 palas of water, 8 palas of milk, and six palas of ghee for day (62. 8-17).

In the Vā. P. Chapters 32-46 with a total verses amounting to 656 there are decriptions and legends about Tīrthas. Besides we see further accounts in the descriptions of a Tīrtha to which Prahlāda goes (78. 1-11; 79. 1-9; 81. 1-17; 83. 1-33; 84. 1-50). We even see Bali (89. 1-26) and Śiva himself on a visit to the Tīrtha (51. 45-74; 60. 3-19; 62. 33-39). To the 656 verses named above we can thus add 220 verses occuring in the descriptions of Tīrthas of Prahlāda, Bali and Śiva. Thus, the total

number of verses given to the desciiptions of Tīrthas in the Vā. P. are 876. Thus we can say that one seventh of Vā. P. is concerned with the Tīrthas and legends connected with them. The most oft mentioned regions and places are as follows :—

Kurukṣetra or Kurujāṅgala (12. 45 ; 21. 21; 24. 26 ; 22. 1-62 ; 34. 12 ; 41. 13-21 ; 48. 23. 33 ; 50. 5 ; 57. 93, 62. 56. 57 ; 84. I 3. 17 ; 89. 52 ; 90. 5. 17. 48) Pṛthūdaka (12. 45 ; 21. 21. 24 ; 22. 44 ; 19. 16. 19. 20 ; 50. 1-5 ; 51. 49, 50. 54 ; 57. 88 ; 58. 115 ; 62. 52). Sthāṇutīrtha (40. 1-45 ; 42. 30 ; 45. 1-5 ; 47. 1-163 ; 48. 1-35 ; 49. 7, 51 ; 84. 18. 19 ; 90. 17), Saptasārasvata (47. 17-22 ; 38. 21-23 ; 57. 92 ; 62. 45), Saptagodāvara (63. 77, 81 ; 65. 55 ; 84. 32 ; 90. 23), Syamantapañcaka (22. 15-62(, Rāmahradr (2. 59, 60 ; 35 1-19), Puṣkara (22. 19 ; 24. 41 ; 57. 90 ; 65. 12-54 ; 83. 32 ; 64. 12 ; 90. 14), Prayāga (22. 18 ; 51. 51 ; 57. 99 ; 83. 27. 28 ; 90. 14- 23), Vārāṇasī (Benaras 3. 30-41 ; 15 50. 53 87 ; 51. 49 ; 83. 29 ; 90. 15), Kapālamocana (3. 49-51 ; 32. 1-16a,), Badrikā or Badarī (2. 42. 43 ; 6. 4 ; 8. 45 ; 57. 96 ; 79. 4. 5 ; 90, 4), Irāvatī (79. 7. 8. 51. 81 ; 90. 5), Vindhya (9. 21-37 ; 21. 4 ; 54. 26. 27 ; 55. 42 ; 56. 69 ; 65. 109 ; 83. 17 ; 90. 12. 28),

Prahlāda and others show their reverence to different gods when they visit the Tīrtha. To name a bit :—

Śiva (36. 44 ; 37. 1 ; 38. 20-23 ; 41. 11 ; 44. 1-38 ; 45. 1-31 ; 46. 58 ; 47. 62-162, 48. 1-35 ; 49. 43-51 ; 84. II), Linga of Śiva and others (44. 7-39 ; 45. 1-31 ; 46. 4-52), Viṣṇu (35. 20 ; 79. I-9 ; 79. 79-84 ; 84. 25), Emblems while Viṣṇu assumes his Avatāra viz. fish, tortoise, man-lion, Govinda and the three strides (78. 1-11), Nārāyaṇa (8.38-72; 43. 29. 30), Nara Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Śiva, Indra and other gods (42. 1-24), Viṣṇu and Śiva (35. 22 ; 36- 29-40 ; 83. 1-30), Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva (43. 21. 22 ; 81. 13-17), Śiva and Umā (42. 13), Durgā (36. 19), Kātyāyanī (18. 18-20 ; 20 50 ; 56-63), Śiva and the Rudras (36. 20-23), Mitra and Varuṇa (84. 22. 23), Ṛṣis, Pitṛs and gods (84. 24), the seven Ṛṣis (36.7-13), the pitṛs (35.1-19, 36.47-52, 37.15.16, 50. 11-12). The description of the Tīrthayātrā has great deal of

similarity with those of the description in the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata. We can establish the correlation by this equation 3.80.1-3, 156.21=3090-11450.

It is repeatedly mentioned that the pilgrims have the sight of a definite god at different Tīrthasthānas. We can agree with Paul Hacker when he states that this refers to the sight of the idol which the pilgrim sees at this place. The comparison shows that Viṣṇu and Śiva are worshipped with the same devotion. Besides these two there were innumerable other gods, the seven Ṛṣis and the Pitṛs who engage our attention. Mostly the worship consists of baths and fasts and now and then attains the climax in the praise songs of gods (33. 5; 34. 35; 37. 1; 47. 62-162). The same religious practices as in the case of the Taptakṛcchravrata and the Nakṣatrapuruṣavrata (62.8-26; 80.1-38) demand really greater undertakings from the worshipper and are not restricted to the place of pilgrimage. Among diverse gifts the gift of a damsel (Kanyādāna 34. 43) and a sacrifice of the damsel (Kanyāyajña 37. 12) and of slave and slave girls are also named (95. 44).

The aim for undertaking the pilgrimage always looms large before the eye of the pilgrim. These are : purification from the sins and freeing oneself from the flood of the hells (41. 31; 48. 16. 37), virtue, possessions, pleasures and salvation (17.20), gold (35. 15), sovereignty over the seven worlds (36. 13), the state of a Brāhmaṇa (39. 14), the money and corn (42. 15), enjoyments (48. 32), beauty (79. 82), and lastly the entry into the world of the gods. Besides different heavens the attainment of diverse worlds are given prominence : The world of Brahmā (36. 13), the world of Śiva (37. 1; 48. 23), the highest step (35. 19; 37. 14; 38. 23; 46. 58), the highest Brahman (39. 2), the highest charm (42. 29), the highest consummation (45. 17), and the highest absolution (49. 34. 35). Now and then a reassurance is also given that a return to the worldly existence is not to be dreaded (35. 19; 39. 2; 49. 35).

Thus from the above discussion we can surmise about the Vā. P. that it is peculiar of the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas in this that

in it only in a peculiar way both the gods Viṣṇu and Śiva are given attention simultaneously. Both enjoy a respectable position with the worshippers. Legends of Viṣṇu and Śiva are narrated to bring out the importance of these two gods. It is to be observed that even in the legends which bring about the glory of Śiva like the Bhāgavata P. Viṣṇu gains a palm over Śiva. It is from this angle of vision that Vā. P. is Vaiṣṇavite and the Śaivite element was added to it later on when it was subsequently revived by the worshippers of Śiva. The Śaivite setting is not in keeping with the importance that is acorded to Viṣṇu. The Vāmanāvatāra of Viṣṇu is repeated at three different places. The Śaiva material in the present Purāṇa as contrasted with the title and the contents given in the Matsya and the Skanda, show that the Purāṇa in its earlier form was a Vaiṣṇava work, and it was later on recast by the worshippers of Śiva who changed the work with the addition and alterations in such a way that very little of its earlier contents was retained. The idols, images and the Tīrthas add a distinct charm to this Purāṇa. One seventh of the portion is given to the Tīrthas. The Vratas like the Nakṣatrapuruṣavrata, Aśūnyaśay-anadvitīyākālāṣṭamīvrata and the Taptakṛcchravrata engage our attention. The geography of the places help us in deciding the place of the origin of this Vā. P. which can be near Kurukṣetra.

Besides stories of other Avatāras there is a detailed account of Vāmanāvatāra. But in a different way is the account of Śiva Śivamāhātmya, Śivatīrtha, Śivaśivāvivāha, the birth of Gaṇesa, the pure life of Kārtikeya etc. From the Vā. P. booklets like Karkacaturthīkathā, Gaṅgāmāhātmya, Venkaṭagirimāhātmya etc. are brought to light. In this Purāṇa besides accounts of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Devī there are descriptions of Tīrthas, Tīrthamāhā-tmyas, and Vratas. It can never go beyond the 10th cent. A. D. It is a compilation of different pieces at diverse times. The Prahlādacarita of Vā. P. is sequent to Harivaṃśa, but prior to Bhāga. P. and Vi. P. The Devī Māhātmya, Mahisāsuravadha, Caṇḍamuṇḍavadha, Śumbhaniśumbhavadha etc. appear to be prior to those of Mārkaṇḍeya's Devī Māhātmaya. Andhakasura-

vadha, Dakṣayajñabhanga, Pārvatījanma etc. are events pertaining to Śiva which are prior to those of Skanda, Linga and Kūrma Purāṇas.

In the Vratarāja there are quotations from the Vā. P. (as regards Vratas falling on each and every day) so also Aparāditya quotes from the Vā. P. From quite early times the Purāṇas are considered as sourses of Dharma (Cf. Yāj I. 3). This tradition is the main reason why the Nibandha authors have profusely drawn upon the Purāṇas in their respective works. Aparākaś com. on Yāj., Dānasāgara, Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇnabhaṭṭa, Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemādri, Kṛtyācāra of Śrīdatta Upādh yāyaṁ Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara, Mādhavācārya's com. on Parāśara smṛti, Śrāddhaviveka of Śūlapāṇi, Tīrthacintāmaṇi of Vācaspatimiśra, Nityācārapaddhati of Vidyākara Vājapeyin, Varṣakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda, Śuddhikriyākaumudī of Govindānanda, Śrāddhakriyākaumudī of Govindānanda, Kālasāra of Gadādhara, Smṛtitattva of Raghunandana, Nityācārapradīpa of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin, Haribhaktivilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa have similar verses or verse portions as are found in the Vā. P. Dr. R. C. Hazra in his work has given an analysis of these in a tabular form (See pp. 296298).

Besides, verse or verses from the Vā. P. are qoted in Kālaviveka of Jīmūtavāhana p. 360, Smṛticandrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa ii. 363, Madanapārijāta of Madanapāla p. 62, Smṛtitattva of Raghunandana I. 356, 415, 840, II. 76, 139, 148, 563, 623, Yātrātattva of Raghunandana p. 19.

Notes

SOME NEW LIGHT FROM THE SKANDA-PURĀṆA ON THE DHĀRAṆA GOTRA OF THE GUPTAS

[अत्र गुप्तशासकानां 'धारण' गोत्रविषयको विचारः क्रियते। पूनाप्रदेशात्प्राप्ते प्रभावतीगुप्ताया अभिलेखे तस्या धारणगोत्रमासीदिति निर्देशो विद्यते। विदुषा लेखकेन एतद्विषयकं जायसवालमहोदयस्य मतं रायचौधरीमहोदयस्य च मतं निराकृत्य स्वानुमानं प्रदर्शितं यत् स्कन्दपुराणे धर्मारण्यनिवासिनां ब्राह्मणानां 'धारण'गोत्रमप्यासीदित्युल्लेखेन ज्ञायते—धारणगोत्रीया ब्राह्मणा गुप्तराज्ञां पुरोहिता आसन् तेषामेव च गोत्रं गुप्तराजभिः स्वीकृतमिति।]

It is known from the Poona Plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā that she belonged to the *Dhāraṇa gotra*; and as this was not her husband's *gotra*, it has been rightly surmised that it must have been the *gotra* of her father's family. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, who had on the basis of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* concluded that Chandragupta I was a Kāraskara or Kakkaṛ Jāṭ, presumed still further that "amongst the Kāraskaras, the particular sub-division to which Guptas belonged was evidently *Dhāraṇa*" and that "the word *gotra* in Prabhāvatī Guptā's inscription would mean a caste subdivision Dhanrī found in Amritsar".[1] Thinking on the same lines, we also contributed in 1934 a short note to the *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, pointing out that the *Dhāraṇa gotra* of the Imperial Guptas made one think of the Dhāraṇiyā Jāṭs who are fairly numerous in the Gaṅgānagar Distrit of Rajasthan.[2] The Jāṭ origin of the Guptas seemed to be indicated also by Chandragomin's grammatical illustration "*ajayat Jarto Hūṇān*", i.e the *Jarta* or Jāṭ King defeated the Hūṇas. The word *Jarta* here has been taken to refer to the Gupta ruler Skandagupta who is known to have actually defeated the Hūṇas.

Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri, however, reached quite a different conclusion on the basis of the mention of the *Dhāraṇa gotra* in the Poona Plate of Prabhāvatī Guptā. Rejecting Dr. Jayaswal's

1. *History of India*, 150 B.C.—150 A D., pp. 115-116.
2. page 235.

view that the Guptas were of Kāraskara origin, he suggested that the Guptas "may have been related to Queen Dhāriṇī, the chief queen of Agnimitra".[3]

As far as the rejection of the historicity of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* is concerned, most historians would agree with Dr. Raychaudhuri. We are not sure also whether anything could be built on the basis of Chandragomin's grammatical illustration, for the reading. But *"ajayad Jarto Hūṇān"* is uncertain.[4] Dr. Raychaudhuri's suggestion about the relationship of the Guptas with Dhāriṇī lacks proof; the name Dhāriṇī might like Irāvatī, the name of the second queen of Agnimitra, be a proper name without any reference to the *gotra* in which she was born. Nor have we found it possible to rest satisfied with our own equation of the Dhāraṇiyā Jāṭs with the Guptas of the Dhāraṇa *gotra*. Consequently we have been on the look-out for other references to the Dhāraṇa *gotra*, and are now gratified to have one from the *Skanda Purāṇa* which shows that *Dhāraṇa* was a *gotra* of the Brāhmaṇas. *Gotra* being primarily a Brāhmaṇa institution, this evidence is sure to interest students of Indian history.

Describing the origin of the Brāhmaṇas of Dharmāraṇya (a tract in the present Mirzāpur District of Eastern Uttar Pradesh), the *Skanda-Purāṇa* states that they had the following twenty-four *gotras*[5] :—

(1) Bhāradvāja	(9) Jātukarṇya	(17) Mudgala
(2) Vatsa	(10) Vasiṣṭha	(18) Mauṣaka
(3) Kauśika	(11) Ātreya	(19) Puṇyāsana
(4) Kuśa	(12) Bhāṇḍila	(20) Pārāśara
(5) Śāṇḍilya	(13) **Dhāraṇa**	(21) Kauṇḍinya
(6) Kāśyapa	(14) Kṛṣṇāyana	(22) Gaṅgāsana
(7) Gautama	(15) Upamanyu	(23) Kunta
(8) Chhāndana	(16) Gārgya	(24) Laugākṣa

3. *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition, p. 526, note 1.
4. See *IA*, 1896, p. 105.
5. *Skanda-Purāṇa*, Mor's edition, pp. 336 and 454.

The Brāhmaṇas of the *Dhāraṇa gotra* had three *pravaras*, Agasti, Dārḍhyāchuta and Rathyavāhana.[6] Their *Devīs* were Thalajā and Chhatrajā and they resided in the villages Dudhīā and Thalatyajā. They have been further described as *brahmaṇya* (well-versed in the Vedas), *brahmavittama* (the best among the knowers of the Supreme Being), *sattvavān* (virtuous), *guṇānvita* (possessed of merits), *dhanī* (rich), *Jñānaniṣṭha* (intent on acquiring true knowledge) and *kriyāniṣṭha* (devoted to the performance of their Brahmanical duties and ceremonies).[7]

As from a fairly early period in our history, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas have been using the *gotras* of their *purohitas*,[8] is it not likely that these Dhāraṇa Brahmaṇas of Dharmāraṇya were the *gurus* of the Imperial Guptas ? There is nothing impossible about this. These Brāhmaṇas lived in an area not far from Magadha where the Guptas established a strong kingdom of their own. And if the view propounded by Dr. B.P. Sinha and Prof. Jagannath be adopted[9], they actually resided in an area which was the original home of the Imperial Guptas. Being either Kṣatriyas or Vaiśyas, the Guptas could have therefore easily accepted the Dhāraṇa Brāhmaṇas as their *gurus* and adopted their *gotra*. It is hardly possible to say this with any certainty; but in view of the identity of the *gotra* of the Imperial Guptas and these Brāhmaṇas the probability of this being a fact has to be borne in mind.

—DASHARATHA SHARMA

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 337 and 461.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 461, verses 145-148.
8. "राजन्यविशां प्रातिस्विकगोत्राभावात् प्रवराभावस्तथापि पुरोहितप्रवरौ वेदितव्यौ" (Mitākṣarā, N. S. edn., p. 151). This is the view also of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Laugākṣi.
9. B. P. Sinha, JBRS, XXVII, Parts 3-4 and XXXVII, Parts 3-4, Jagannath, *IHQ.*, XXII, pp. 28 ff.

THE PURĀṆAS ON THE AUDUMBARAS

[औदुम्बरजातेरवस्थानं भारतवर्षस्य पश्चिमोत्तरप्रदेशे आसीत् यतस्तत्रैव औदुम्बरराज्ञां मुद्राः प्राप्यन्ते। अस्या जातेरुल्लेखो वायुब्रह्माण्डादिपुराणेषु वर्त्तते। इयं जातिर्विश्वामित्रवंशीयेति पुराणेभ्यः प्रतीयते। अस्मिन् लघुनिबन्धे उदुम्बर('औदुम्बर' वा) जातिविषयको विचारः कृतः।]

The *Purāṇas* throw welcome light on a number of tribes of Northern India, among which mention may be made of the Udumbaras or the Audumbaras. The tribe is credited to have issued coins, both in silver and copper, specimens of which have been found at Pathankot in the Gurudaspur district and Irippal in the district of Kangra in North Punjab.[1] On the basis of the provenances of their coins, Allan[2] has located them in the area formed by "the valley of the Beas or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi".

The Audumbaras find mention in a number of ancient Indian literary texts which include some *Purāṇas* such as the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, the *Vāyu*, and the *Brahmāṇḍa*. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa*[3] locates the Audumbaras in the middle portion of *Kūrma* or tortoise, to which the shape of India likens. This location, however, is in difference with that of the tribe as furnished by their coins as well as some literary texts. Barring this particular *Purāṇa*, the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* do render us some

1. For Pathankot finds see *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XIV, p. 115-17 : for Irippal finds see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numismatic Supplement, 1914, p. 247 f.
2. *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum*, Ancient India, p lxxxvii.

2a. For references to the Audumbaras in ancient Indian literary texts see the present writer's article entitled 'The Antiquity of the Audumbaras' in *the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Delhi, 1961.

3. 58. 10 ; Pargiter's edition p. 83. The verse runs thus :
Kāpiṅgalāḥ Kuruvāhyās-tathaiv Odumbarā Janāḥ|
Gajāhvayāś-cha Kūrmmasya jalamadhyanivāsinaḥ||

help with regard to the origin of the tribe. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa*[4] refers to them in the following manner:

> *Kachchhapaḥ Pūraṇaś-chaiva Viśvāmitrasutās-tu vai |*
> *tesāṁ gotrāṇi vahudhā Kauśikānāṁ mahātmanām ||97*
> *Pārthivā Devarātāś-cha Yājñavalkyāḥ Samarshaṇāḥ |*
> *Udumbarā Udumlānās-Tārakā Yajamuñchatāḥ ||98*

The English rendering of the above extract is as follows:

'Kachchhapa and Pūraṇa are issues of Viśvāmitra. Of great-souled persons, belonging to Kuśika, several *gotras* are traceable, such as Pārthiva, Devarāta, Yājñavalkya, Samarshaṇa, Udumbara, Udumlāna, Tāraka and Yajamuñchata'.

The evidences furnished by the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*[5] regarding the tribe are identical with those of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and thus these two *Purāṇas* assign the Audumbaras to the Kuśika or Kauśika *gotra* and so to the family of the celebrated sage named Viśvāmitra. It is interesting to note here that the *Harivaṁśa*[6] also describes the Audumbaras as belonging to the family of Viśvāmitra. The tradition of Viśvāmitra being the son of Kuśika may be traced to the *Ṛigveda*[7] as well. In this way, the *Purāṇas* echo the well-known association of Viśvāmitra with Kuśika on the one hand and the less known connection between Viśvāmitra and the Audumbaras on the other.

Now, among the coins of the Audumbaras we come across

4. 91, 97-98; Anandasrama edition.
5. III, 66, 70; Venkateswara edition. In the *Brahmāṇda-Purāna* some varients of the names occur, e.g., Samarshaṇā appears as Samarpaṇā or Vārtabhyā occure instead of Udumlāna etc.
6. Sloka 1466; Asiatic Society Edition.
7. *Rigveda*, III, 33, 5. The Viśvāmitras, i.e., the descendants of Viśvāmitra, are also designated as the Kuśikās in different passages of the *Rigveda* (iii, 26, 1, 3; 29, 15; 30, 20; 42, 9; 53, 9, 10). The evidence of Yāska's *Nirukta* may also be cited. Yāska describes the father of Viśvāmitra as Kuśika and further calls him as a king (ii, 25; cf. *Kuśikasya sūnuh Kuśiko rājā babhūva*).

an interesting variety represented by two specimens only.[8] Made of silver and round in shape, each of these two coins bears a bearded male figure on the obverse with a legend which refers to Viśpvamitra, i. e. Viśvāmitra. Neither this figure nor the legend concerned is found on any other type of coins. It is presumable, therefore, that Viśvāmitra was intimately related to the Audumbaras ; he was, so to say, the 'national sage' of the tribe.[9] But is there any other evidence to show the relation between the celebrated sage and the tribe which is attested by the coins in question ? Allan[10] failing to notice any connection between the two concluded that "Viśvāmitra's connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown."

It is again a Purāṇic text that comes to our help to explain the occurrence of this particular sage on the coins of the Audumbaras. The *Kālikā-Purāṇa* gives us an evidence with regard to the connection between the sage and the tribe which has hitherto escaped the attention of scholars. The evidence is furnished by a story about the birth of Viśvāmitra to be found in the said *Purāṇa*.[11]

The story runs thus :

'On hearing that his son had been married, the wise Bhrigu went to the hermitage of his son Ṛichīka to see his son and daughter-in-law. The two the bride and the bridegroom worshipped Bhṛigu and stood before him with folded hands. When Bhṛigu wanted to give his daughter-in-law some boon, Satyavatī prayed a son for her who would be well-versed in the observance of penances and the Vedas and a son for her mother who would be endowed with incomparable valour and prowess.

8. One specimen found by Cunningham is in the British Museum for which see Allan's *Catalogue*, p. 124, pl. XIV, 14 ; the other specimen is in the Lahore Museum for which see R. B. Whithead's *Catelogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, p. 167, pl. XVI, No. 137.
9. See K. P. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* (Bangalore, 1955), p. 154.
10. *Op. cit*, p. lxxxiv.
11. *Kālikā-Purāṇa*, Vangavasi edition, Chapter 82 ; Venkateswara Chapter 85.

Bhṛigu thereupon granted the boon and became absorbed in meditation. Then he exhaled with care and from his breath issued two *charus* which he gave them to Satyavatī and said that the reddened *charu* was to be taken by her mother after embracing the bo-tree (*Aśvattha*) and the white *charu* by herself after embracing a fig-tree (*Udumbara*). With these words the sage went away to his destination.

But Satyavatī and her mother mistakenly did the opposite things ; in other words, Satyavatī embraced the *aśvattha* tree and partook of the reddened *charu*, while her mother ate the white *charu*.

The sage Bhṛigu, who was endowed with divine vision, came to learn about this contrariety. He arrived there and said to his daughter-in-law that she whould have a son who would be endowed with Kshatriya-like behaviour and her mother's son will be Kshatriya with Brahmanical behaviour.

Satyavatī then requested Bhṛigu to let her grandson to be endowed with those qualities.

Granting her prayer, Bhṛigu went away.

Thereafter the daughter of Gādhi gave birth to a valorous son named Jamadagni in proper time and her mother to Viśvāmitra to whom penance was wealth. Jamadagni studied the four Vedas within a very short time and the great soul also acquired skill in the science of archery by himself. Viśvāmitra also became an adept in the Vedas and in all sciences of archery within a short time. Ultimately he became a brāhmaṇa by dint of his penance.

Now, the most important point to note in this story is that the mother of Viśvāmitra, in order to have a child, embraced an *audumbara* (fig tree). Though the story contains a lot of miraculous and unbelievable things, the association of Viśvāmitra's birth with the *audumbara* tree is useful in explaining the occurrence of his name and figure on coins of the Audumbaras, the name of the tribe evidently being derived from the *udumbara*

or audumbara tree and the tree in that case was presumably worshipped by the tribe as a totem.[13]

Thus the connection between the sage and the tribe gleaned from the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇas* is confirmed not only by a particular variety of the coins of the Audumbaras but also by the *Kālikā-Purāṇa* which is believed to have been composed between seventh and tenth centuries A.D. Together, all these *Purāṇas*, therefore. are found to have thrown valuable light on the origin of the Audumbara.

—KALYAN KUMAR DAS GUPTA

12. It may be noted that on the reverse of the Viśvāmitra type of coins a tree in an enclosure occurs, the enclosure perhaps indicates the sacred character of the tree. The tree may be identified with the udumbara and thus can be associated with the sage Viśvāmitra, but the tree-motif is so common on ancient Indian coins that no definite conclusion can be drawn with regard to the identification of the tree with the udumbara tree.

13. For a discussion of the date of the *Kālikā-Purāṇa* see Dr. R. C. Hazra's *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1963 p. 240f.

शिवपुराणविषयकं वक्तव्यम् ।

[Elsewhere in this issue of the 'Purāṇa' is published a Sanskrit article entitled 'शिवपुराणीयं दर्शनम्'. There the writer of this article while discussing the date of the Śiva-Purāṇa has stated that as the Śiva-Purāṇa mentions 'Śiva-Sūtras', the date of the composition of the Śiva-Purāṇa must be later than that of the Śiva-Sūtras. But the writer of the present note, Paṇḍitarāja Dravida (who is also on the Editorial Board of the 'Purāṇa') has criticised the above statement about the date of the Śiva-Purāṇa, by asserting that the author of the Śiva-Purāṇa was a Ṛṣi, and so he had foreseen the Śiva-sūtras also, and therefore the Śiva-Purāṇa cannot be said to have been composed later than the Śiva-sūtras.]

प्रत्यक्षमेकं चार्वाकाः, प्रत्यक्षानुमाने इति बौद्धाः, राजनीतौ तु 'प्रत्यक्ष-परोक्षानुमेया हि राजवृत्तिः' इत्यर्थशास्त्रवचनात् प्रत्यक्षपरोक्षानुमानानि प्रमाणानि। इत्येवं स्थितौ केवलं प्रत्यक्षानुमानप्रमाणवादिमतानुसारेण शिवपुराणविषये नवीन-मतानुयायिनां लेखो यद्यपि नासङ्गतः, तथापि बौद्धजैनवैदिकसम्मतराजनीतिरीत्या विरुद्धयते, परोक्षात्मकप्रतिभाप्रमाणविरुद्धत्वात्। एवं स्थिते राजनीतिसम्मतो-ऽत्रत्यः पक्ष उपस्थाप्यते ।

विद्यातपःसमाधिजः प्रकृष्टो धर्मविशेषः सूक्ष्मव्यवहितभविष्यदादिगोचरमपि ज्ञानमुत्पादयति। तदेव ज्ञानं प्रातिभप्रतिभापदाभ्यामुच्यते। तदुक्तं प्रशस्त-पादभाष्ये—

"आम्नायविधातॄणामृषीणामतीतानागतवर्तमानेष्वतीन्द्रियेष्वर्थेषु धर्मादिषु ग्रन्थोपनिबद्धेष्वनुपनिबद्धेषु चात्ममनसोः संयोगाद्धर्मविशेषाच्च यत्प्रातिभं यथार्थ-निवेदनं ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते, तदार्षमित्याचक्षते। तत्तु प्रस्तारेण देवर्षीणां तथा

कदाचिल्लौकिकानां यथा कन्यका ब्रवीति "श्वो मे भ्राताऽऽगन्तेति हृदयं मे कथयतीति" इति[1]।

अत्र न्यायकन्दली—

"धर्मविशेषादिति, विशिष्यत इति विशेषो धर्म एव विशेषो, धर्मविशेषो विद्यातपःसमाधिजः प्रकृष्टो धर्मस्तस्मात्प्रतिभोदयः" इति[2]।

अत्र "यथा कन्यका ब्रवीती"त्ययमंशो दर्शनार्हः।

"यतो मेधाविरुद्रकुमारदासादयो जात्यन्धाः कवयः श्रूयन्ते। जन्मान्धा रूपस्य यथावद्वर्णनं चक्रुः" इति काव्यमीमांसायामुक्तम्। तत्रत्योपि ग्रन्थो दर्शनार्हः[3]।

एतादृशप्रतिभावशादेवानशनरूपं तपो विधाय भारतीयनेतृभिर्गान्धिमहोदयैः स्वराज्यमधिगतम्।

"आगल बुद्धि बानिया" इत्याभाणकानुसारेण भविष्यदर्थस्य निश्शङ्कं ज्ञानं विना वैश्या नोन्नतिमधिगच्छन्ति।

'विप्राः पश्चिमबुद्धयः' इति तु केषाञ्चित् मूर्खतामन्तरा जगद्रक्षणं न भवेदित्येतदर्थं प्रतिभाहीनत्वं तत्र निर्मीयते। एवं स्थितौ सत्यां 'व्यासस्य चिरजीवित्वमि'ति लेखानुसारेण दीर्घसमाधिभाजां चिरायुषामृषीणां भविष्यच्छिवसूत्रादिदर्शनं न जातमिति कथं वक्तुं शक्यते ?

भृगुसंहिताग्रन्थानुसारेण च चि० वर्तमानकाशिराजकुमारस्य जन्मदर्शनमस्मिन् वर्षे भविष्यतीति द्वित्रिवर्षेभ्यः पूर्वमेव निश्चितमासीत्।

अत एव काशीखण्डेप्ययं संवाद आगतो दर्शनार्ह इति कृत्वा लिख्यते

उमोवाच—

किञ्चित्प्रष्टुमना नाथ ! स्वसन्देहापनुत्तये।

(१) मुद्रित चौखम्भा सीरीज, सन् १९३०, पृ० सं० ६२१।
(२) वाराणसेय संस्कृत वि०, चौखम्बा विद्याभवन मुद्रित, सन् १९६३ पृ० सं० ६२८।
(३) चौखम्बा विद्याभवन मुद्रित, सन् १९६४ पृ० सं० ३०।

वद खेदो यदि न ते त्रिकालज्ञानकोविद ॥ १ ॥
तदा भगीरथो राजा क्व क्व भागीरथी तदा ।
यदा विष्णुस्तपस्तेपे चक्रपुष्करिणीतटे ॥

शिव उवाच—सन्देहोऽत्र न कर्तव्यो विशालाक्षि सदामले ।
श्रुतौ स्मृतौ पुराणेषु कालत्रयमुदीर्यते ॥
भूतं भावि भवच्चापि संशयं मा वृथा कृथाः ।[1] इति ।

अतः प्रामाणिकमूर्धन्यहेमाद्र्यादिनिबंधोद्धृतस्य शिवपुराणस्य निर्माणं शिवसूत्रनिर्माणानन्तरं अभूदिति कथनं लेखकस्य केवलं प्रत्यक्षानुमानवादित्वं प्रकाशयति ।

तथा च राजनीतिसम्मतस्य विरुद्धपक्षस्याप्यपलपितुमशक्यत्वात् लेखकोन्नीतः शिवपुराणविषयकः कालनिर्णयो निर्णयत्वेन ग्रहीतुन्न शक्यते । प्रतिपाद्यशैवागमतन्त्रेषु मतभेदाश्चोपासनापक्षे वैकल्पितया सम्भवन्त्येवेति तदवष्टम्भेन कालनिर्णयकरणमशक्यम् । तथा च चिन्त्य एवायं लेखः । इति ।

—राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविड

(१) वेङ्कटेश्वर मुद्रित पु०, पृ० १६७ अ० २८, संवत् १९६४ ।

'स्थाणु'शब्दः

[The word 'Sthāṇu' is found used in several senses in the Sanskrit lexicons. In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas it is generally used in the sense of 'Rudra' or 'Śiva'. In this note the writer has discussed the word *Sthāṇu* as meaning 'Rudra' and has given appropriate quotations from the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas, and their ṭīkās.]

शब्दकोशेषु 'स्थाणु'शब्दस्येमेऽर्था उपलभ्यन्ते—

(१) **रुद्रः** ('स्थाणू रुद्र उमापतिः' अ० को०)

(२) **शाखाशून्यवृक्षः**, (छिन्नविटपी वा) ('स्थाणुर्वा ना ध्रुवः शङ्कुः' अ० को०)

(३) **स्तम्भादिः** ('स्थाणुः शर्वेऽपि' अ० को० । अत्र क्षीरस्वामी— 'स्तम्भादौ स्थेयुषि शर्वे च स्थाणुः')

(४) **स्थिरः**, ('स्थाणुः कीले स्थिरे हरे' विश्वकोशः) ।

'स्थाणु' शब्दोऽयं 'स्था'धातोर्निष्पद्यते । अतः 'स्थिरः' इत्येवास्य शब्दस्य प्रधानोऽर्थः । अयमेवार्थः अन्येषां रुद्राद्यर्थानामप्याधारो विद्यते । अत्र रुद्रवाचकस्य स्थाणुशब्दस्यैव विचारः प्रस्तूयते ।

(१) रुद्रः स्थाणुः, सामान्यतः स्थिरत्वात्, कूटस्थत्वाद्वा,

यथा—

'ईश्वरः स्थाणुरीशानः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात्'

(लिं० पु० १।९८।२८)

अत्र "स्थाणुः=गमनागमनशून्यः 'वृक्ष इव स्तब्धो दिवि तिष्ठति' इति श्रुतेः," इति टीकाकारः ।

'स्थाणुः—शिवे, प्रलयेऽप्येकरूपेण तिष्ठतीति, स्थितिशीलानि पृथिव्यादीनि तिष्ठन्त्यस्मिन्निति वा' (शब्दचिन्तामणि)

'[1]स्थाणुवत्संस्थितो यस्मात्ततः स्थाण्वीश्वरः स्मृतः'

(वाम० पु० ४४।१४)

(२) रुद्रः स्थाणुरित्युच्यते जगदाश्रयत्वात् गृहस्तम्भवत्। यथा—

'त्रैलोक्यगोप्ता गोविन्दो गोमार्गोऽमार्ग एव च।
ज्येष्ठः स्थिरश्च स्थाणुश्च निष्कम्पः कम्प एव च' ॥

(दक्षकृता शिवस्तुतिः, म० भा०, शां० प० २४।१५६)

अत्र 'स्थाणुः त्रैलोक्याधारस्तम्भः इति नीलकण्ठटीका।

'स्थिरः स्थाणुः प्रभुर्भीमः प्रवरो वरदो भवः' ॥

(तण्डिकृता शिवस्तुतिः, म० भा० अनुशा० पर्व, १७।३१)

"स्थाणुः ग्रहस्तम्भवत्सर्वाश्रयः, यथोक्तम्—

"संसारमण्डपस्यास्य मूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे" इति नीलकण्ठटीका।

(३) रुद्रः स्थाणुरित्युच्यते सृष्टिकर्मणो विरम्य स्थिरीभूतत्वात्

यथा—

ब्रह्मण आदेशात् सिसृक्षुः शिवः स्वसदृशान् जरामरणरहितान् नीललोहितान् (रुद्रान्) ससर्ज। जरामरणरहितां तां सृष्टिं दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्मा शिवं प्रोवाच—'ईदृशीं सृष्टिं मा कुरु किन्तु जरामरणयुक्तां सृष्टिं कुर्विति'। 'तादृशीं सृष्टिं न करोम्यपि तु स्थिरो भवामीत्युक्त्वा सृष्ट्या विमुखो बभूव। अत एवास्य नाम **स्थाणुः** इति प्रसिद्धमभूत्। लिङ्गपुराणेऽयमेवाशयः विशदीकृतः।

यथा—

'प्रजाः सृजेति व्यादिष्टो ब्रह्मणा नीललोहितः ॥
सोऽभिध्याय सतीं भार्यां निर्ममे ह्यात्मसम्भवान् ॥
नाधिकान्न च हीनांस्तान् मानसानात्मनः समान् ॥

(१) जम्मू(कश्मीर)स्थस्य श्रीरघुनाथपुस्तकालयस्य हस्तलेखेऽयं पाठः।

सहस्रं हि सहस्राणां सोऽसृजत्कृत्तिवाससः ॥
तुल्यानेवात्मनः सर्वान् रूपतेजोबलश्रुतैः ॥
पिङ्गलान्सनिषङ्गांश्च सकपर्दान्सलोहितान् ॥

. . . .

दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्माब्रवीदेनं मा स्राक्षीरीदृशीः प्रजाः ।
स्रष्टव्या नात्मनस्तुल्याः प्रजा देव नमोऽस्तु ते ॥
अन्याः सृज त्वं भद्रं ते प्रजा वै मृत्युसंयुताः ॥
नारप्स्यन्ते हि कर्माणि प्रजा विगतमृत्यवः ॥
एवमुक्तोऽब्रवीदेनं नाहं मृत्युजरान्विताः ॥
प्रजाः स्रक्ष्यामि भद्रं ते स्थितोऽहं त्वं सृज प्रजाः ॥

. . . .

यस्मादुक्तः स्थितोऽस्मीति तस्मात्स्थाणुरिति स्मृतः ॥

(लिं० पु० १।७०।३०३-३२४)

—मध्वाचार्य आद्य

दानसागरे समुद्धृतानि पुराणवचनानि

[Vallālasena in his famous work *Dānasāgara* has profusely drawn upon the Purāṇas. He has also mentioned the names of the Purāṇas utilized by him, and also of those which he has rejected as spurious works. The writer in this note has classified these Purāṇic quotations according to the various Purāṇas drawn upon by the author, and has given Purāṇa-wise numbers of these quotations.]

तत्र वङ्गदेशाधिपेन श्रीमद्बल्लालसेनमहाराजेनानेकस्मृतिपुराणान्यालोड्य तत्र तत्रागतानि दानवचनानि च संगृह्य निर्मितो दानसागरनामको ग्रन्थः। अस्य ग्रन्थस्य निर्माणकालः १०९१ शकाब्दः आसीदिति स्वयं ग्रन्थकारेणैवोक्तम्—

"पूर्णे शशिनवदशमितशकवर्षे दानसागरो रचितः" इति।

(दा. सा., पृ. ६४७)

अयं दानसागरो ग्रन्थः श्रीभावतोषभट्टाचार्येण सम्पादित एशियाटिकसोसायटी (कलकत्ता) संस्थया च प्रकाशितः। अस्यैव पृष्ठनिर्देशा अत्र दीयन्ते।

दानसागरः पञ्चसप्तत्यावर्त्तेषु विभक्तस्तत्र ग्रन्थकारेण संगृहीतानां पुराणानामुपपुराणानां च नामानि ग्रन्थारम्भे द्वितीयतृतीययोः पृष्ठयोः प्रदत्तानि। तथा हि—

ब्राह्मं वाराहमाग्नेयं भविष्यं मात्स्यमेव च।
वामनं वायवीयं च मार्कण्डेयञ्च वैष्णवम् ॥
शैवं स्कान्दं पाद्मं च पुराणं कौर्ममेव च।
पुराणानि तथा कूर्मपुराणादिपुराणयोः ॥
उक्तान्युपपुराणानि व्यक्तदानविधीनि च।
आद्यं पुराणं शाम्बं च कालिकाह्वयमेव च ॥
नन्दिमादित्यसंज्ञं च नारसिंहं तथैव च।
मार्कण्डेयकृतं तद्वत् विष्णुधर्मोत्तराह्वयम् ॥

शास्त्रं च विष्णुधर्माख्यं.....................

इत्यालोच्य पुराणोपपुराणस्मृतिसंहिताः ।
समाहृतानि दानानि निबन्धस्यास्य सिद्धये ॥

(दा. सा. पृ. २-३, श्लोक ११-१४, २०)

अत्रासङ्गृहीतपुराणानां नामान्यपि सकारणानि प्रदत्तानि—

भागवतञ्च पुराणं, ब्रह्माण्डञ्चैव नारदीयञ्च ।
दानविधिशून्यमेतत् त्रयमिह न निबद्धमवधार्य ॥

बृहदपि लिङ्गपुराणं मत्स्यपुराणोदितैर्महादानैः ।
अवधार्य तुल्यसारं दाननिबन्धेऽत्र न निबद्धम् ॥

सप्तम्यैव पुराणं भविष्यमपि सङ्गृहीतमतियत्नात् ।
त्यक्त्वाष्टमीनवम्यौ कल्पौ पाखण्डिभिर्ग्रस्तौ ॥

लोकप्रसिद्धमेतद्विष्णुरहस्यञ्च शिवरहस्यञ्च ।
द्वयमिह न परिगृहीतं सङ्ग्रहरूपत्वमवधार्य ॥

भविष्योत्तरमाचारप्रसिद्धमविरोधि च ।
प्रामाण्यज्ञापकादृष्टेर्ग्रन्थादस्मात् पृथक् कृतम् ॥

प्रचद्रूपतः स्कन्दपुराणैकांशतोऽधिकम् ।
यत् खण्डत्रितयं पौण्ड्ररेवाऽवन्तिकथाश्रयम् ॥

तार्क्ष्यं पुराणमपरं ब्राह्ममाग्नेयमेव च ।
त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं पुराणमपि वैष्णवम् ॥

षट्साहस्रमितं लैङ्गं पुराणमपरं तथा ।
दीक्षाप्रतिष्ठापाखण्डयुक्तिरत्नपरीक्षणैः ॥

मृषावंशानुचरितैः कोषव्याकरणादिभिः ।
असङ्गतकथाबन्धपरस्परविरोधतः ॥

तन्मीनकेतनादीनां भण्डपाखण्डलिङ्गिनाम् ॥
लोकवञ्चनमालोक्य सर्वमेवावधीरितम् ॥

तत्तत्पुराणोपपुराणसंख्या—

बहिष्कृतं कश्मलकर्मयोगात् ।
पाखण्डशास्त्रानुमतं निरूप्य
देवीपुराणं न निबद्धमत्र ॥
ये दानधर्मविधिसंस्तुतये
पुण्यागमस्मृतिगिरां बहवो विवर्त्ताः ।
ते ग्रन्थविस्तरभयादविचिन्त्य केचि—
दस्माभिरत्र कलिताः कलयन्तु सन्तः ॥

(पृ. ६-७, श्लोक ५७-६८)

दानसागरे उद्धृतानां पुराणानां नामानि, तेभ्य उद्धृतवचनानां श्लोक-संख्या चात्र प्रदर्श्यते—

	पुराणानि	श्लो. सं.	अर्द्धम्	पादाः
	ब्रह्म	३५	×	×
	पद्म	११	×	×
	विष्णु	६	×	×
	वायु	७	×	×
	मार्कण्डेय	१	१	१
	आग्नेय	२४७	×	×
	भविष्य	४४	×	×
	लिङ्ग	५	×	×
	वाराह	१७	४	१
	स्कान्द	७१	×	×
	वामन	२१	×	×
	कूर्म	२३	१	×
	मत्स्य	६४०	×	×
योगः	१३	११२८	६	२

एवमत्राष्टादशपुराणानां मध्ये त्रयोदशेभ्यः पुराणेभ्य एव दानवचनानि संगृहीतानि। भागवत-ब्रह्माण्ड-ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त-नारद-गरुडपुराणानां वचनानि च नात्रोद्धृतानि। इतः परमुपपुराणेभ्यः संगृहीतानां पुराणानां श्लोकसंख्याऽपि निर्दिश्यते—

उपपुराणानि	श्लो.	अर्द्धम्	पादाः
विष्णुधर्मोत्तर	५०७	×	×
कालिका	३९	×	×
नन्दिकेश्वर	२३६	×	×
शिव	१५	×	×
शाम्ब	४	१	×
नृसिंह	१५	५	×
आदि	४३	×	×
आदित्य	४०	×	×
विष्णुधर्म	९०	१	×
	९८९	१५३	१३

—हीरामणि मिश्र

पुराणसंबन्धीनि कानिचिदुद्धरणानि

पुराणवाचनविधिः

एवं विधानतो वाच्यं पाठकेन विपश्चिता ।
तपःशमात्मकं स्वर्गधर्मादिफलसाधनम् ।
शनैर्विविच्य तद्वाच्यमध्यात्मादि च यद्भवेत् ॥
क्रुद्धोक्तं युद्धसंक्षोभं त्वरायुक्तेन वाचयेत् ।
सरागं ललितैर्वाक्यैर्वाचयेद्धृदयङ्गमैः ।
नानाचिन्तार्थरूपेण ललितेन च वाचयेत् ॥

(नन्दिपुराणात्, दानसागरे, पृ० ४८५, श्लोक ६-१०)

पुराणवाचकलक्षणम्

वाचको ब्राह्मणः प्राज्ञः श्रुतशास्त्रो महामनाः ।
अभ्यस्ताक्षरविन्यासो वृत्तशास्त्रविशारदः ।
सूत्रार्थवित् प्रगल्भश्च विनीतो मेधया युतः ॥ १० ॥
नीतिज्ञो वाक्पटुः श्रव्यस्वरो × × माषकः ।
विप्रः प्रकृतितः शुद्धः शुचिः स्मितमुखः सुधीः ॥ ११ ॥
अभ्यस्तशास्त्रसन्देहः प्रकृतार्थप्रवर्त्तकः ।
सश्रद्धः सुकृतव्याख्यः पौर्वापर्यार्थवित्सुधीः ॥ १२ ॥
अध्यायसर्गविच्छेदविभक्त्यर्थप्रयोजकः ।
शास्त्रार्थपदविद् धीमान् पदश्लोकार्थबोधकः ॥ १३ ॥

(नन्दिपुराणात्, दा० सा०, पृ० ४८२-४८३, श्लोक १०-१३)

पुराणश्रवणविधिः

शृणुयात् श्रद्धया युक्तः प्रणतोऽभिमुखो गुरोः ।
अनन्यसंकथाक्षेपी निष्प्रमादो ह्यतन्द्रितः ॥
सूत्रे च संशये जाते पृच्छेद्वाक्यमुदीरयेत् ।
गुरुणा चोक्तमेकान्ते श्रद्धावान् वाक्यमाश्रयेत् ॥

(नन्दिपुराणात्, दानसागरे, पृ० ४८०, श्लोक २-३)

ACTIVITIES OF THE KASHIRAJ TRUST

(June 1964—Dec. 1964)

During the period under review the following literary and cultural activities were carried out.

CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS

(a) *Matsya-Purāṇa*

The work of preparing the Matsya-Purāṇa edition is being done at Madras as usual under the editorship of Dr. V. Raghavan.

(b) *Vāmana-Purāṇa*

During this period the two Bengali Mss. of the Vāmana Purāṇa procured from the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad have been completely collated. Like the Bengali Ms. of the Asiatic Society they also omit Adhs. from 23 to 50. Two more Mss. have been partially collated—Viz. one Ms. No. K. 6815 of the India Office Library, and the other Mss. from the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra Library, Ramnagar. The text of the first ten adhyāyas of the Vāmana Purāṇa has been tentatively reconstructed. Besides, the text of the four more Adhyāyas—37 to 40—has been compared with that of the four Adhyāyas (37ff.) of the Śalya Parva of the Mahābhārata (Cri. Edn.) with a view to their textual reconstruction.

OTHER WORK ON THE PURĀṆAS

(a) At Madras centre Dr. Raghavan has critically edited the 11th Adhyāya (Rājanīti) of the Ms. '*Purāṇārtha Saṅgraha*', D. 2469 of the G. O. M. L. Madras, which is to be published as a supplement to the 'Purāṇa'.

(b) *Pāda-Index*:—The Pāda-indexes of the Vāmana, Brahma and Brahmāṇḍa (excepting its Lalitopākhyāna) have been completed. The Pāda-indexes of the Garuḍa, Liṅga, Kūrma, Mārkaṇḍeya, and Viṣṇu Purāṇas have been prepared, but they have not yet been alphabetically arranged.

काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जून १९६४—दिसम्बर १९६४)

प्रस्तुत समये निम्नाङ्कितानि साहित्यकानि सांस्कृतिकानि च कार्याणि सम्पन्नानि—

पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

(अ) मत्स्यपुराणकार्यम्

मत्स्यपुराणस्य संपादनकार्यं मद्रासनगरे प्रो० वें० राघवन् महोदयस्य सम्पादकत्वे यथापूर्वं प्रचलति ।

(आ) वामनपुराणकार्यम्

अस्मिन् समये वङ्गीयसाहित्यपरिषदः सकाशात् प्राप्तौ द्वौ वंगभाषाकोषौ पूर्णतः संवादितौ । इमौ कोशावपि एशियाटिकसोसायटी बंगालीकोशवत् २३-५० अध्यायान् लोपयंतः । इतरौ द्वौ हस्तलेखौ—एकः इण्डिया आफिस लाइब्रेरीतः हस्तलेख सं० के० ६८१५, अपरश्च सरस्वती भण्डार पुस्तकालय रामनगरस्य—आंशिकरूपेण संवादितौ । वामनपुराणस्य प्रथमदशाध्यायानां पाठोऽपि अस्थायिरूपेण सम्पादितः । अपरं च, चतुर्णामध्यायानां (३७-४०) पाठस्य महाभारतस्य (भण्डारकर ओ० सं०) अध्यायानां पाठैः सह तुलना कृता पाठनिर्धारणार्थम् ।

अन्यपुराणानां कार्यजातम्

(अ) मद्रासकार्यालये डा० वी० राघवनमहोदयैः 'पुराणार्थसंग्रहः' हस्तलेखस्य एकादशोऽध्यायः (राजनीतिः) सम्पादितः स पुराणपत्रिकायाः परिशिष्टरूपेण प्रकाशितो भविष्यति ।

(आ) पादसूची—वामनब्रह्मब्रह्माण्डपुराणानां पादसूची पूर्णा कृता । ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्थललितोपाख्यानस्य पादसूची न निर्मिता ।

गरुडलिङ्गकूर्ममार्कण्डेयविष्णुपुराणानां पादसूची लिखिता वर्तते, किन्तु अक्षरक्रमेण संग्रथनमवशिष्टम् ।

(c) *Purāṇa Quotations from the Nibandhas* :—

As has already been stated in the previous review, the quotations of the Purāṇas from the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena and the Parāśara Mādhava hava been collected. During this period the quotations from some parts (Viz. ब्रह्मचारिकाण्ड, गार्हस्थ्यकाण्ड, नियतकालकाण्ड, श्राद्धकाण्ड and दानकाण्ड) of the Kṛtya-Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara Miśra have been collected. The work of collecting Purāṇa quotations is in progress.

PURĀṆA SUBJECT-CONCORDANCE

An exhaustive subject-concordance of the Purāṇas has been planned, as has already been stated in the previous reviews. The subject-indexes of the six Purāṇas—Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Liṅga, Vāmana, Kūrma, and Matsya—have been completed.

'PURĀṆA' BULLETIN

With the present issue the '*Purāṇa*' now enters the seventh year of its publication. In the past six volumes, each containing of two half-yearly issues, about 175 articles dealing with the various aspects of the Purāṇic literature have appeared. These articles have been appreciated by Indologists, and have been found useful for furthering the research work on the Purāṇas. A number of Indian and foreign Periodicals are also received in exchange of the '*Purāṇa*'.

TRANSLATION OF THE REPORT OF THE CALENAR REFOM COMMITEE

The Hindi translation of the English Report of the Calendar Reform Committee of the Government of India, prepared by the Purāṇa-Department of the Kashiraj Trust, has now been published for private circulation among the Paṇḍits and scholars of Astronomy (Jyotiṣa) and Dharmaśāstra, so that they may be able study the question from the modern point of view also, and help in settling the disputed problem of Indian Calendar-making.

(इ) निबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः पुराणोद्धरणानि—इदं पूर्वकार्यविवरणे सूचितं यत् वल्लालसेनस्य 'दानसागरात्' अथ च 'पराशरमाधवग्रंथात्' पुराणानामुद्धरणानि संकलितानि। प्रस्तुतकाले लक्ष्मीधरमिश्रस्य 'कृत्यकल्पतरु' नाम्नः ग्रंथस्य केषांचिद् अंशानां (ब्रह्मचारिकाण्डं, गार्हस्थ्यकाण्डं नियतकालकाण्डं, श्राद्धकाण्डं अथच दानकाण्डं) संकलनं कृतम्। पुराणोद्धरणानां संग्रहकार्यं यथापूर्वं प्रचलति।

पुराणविषयानुक्रमणी

यथा पूर्वविवरणेषु सूचितं पुराणविषयाणां विस्तृतसूचीनिर्माणस्य योजना स्वीकृता वर्तते। षण्णां महापुराणानां—विष्णुमार्कण्डेयलिङ्गवामनकूर्ममत्स्यपुराणानां—विषयसूची पूर्णा संजाता।

पुराणपत्रिका

अनेन अङ्केन सह 'पुराण' पत्रिका सप्तमे वर्षे प्रविशति पूर्वसमये षट्भागाः—प्रत्येकभागः अङ्कद्वयेन समन्वितः—प्रकाशिताः येषु पुराणानां विभिन्नविषयान् आधारीकृत्य १७५ निबन्धाः प्रकाशिताः। इमे निबन्धाः प्राच्यविद्याविद्भिः प्रशंसिताः अथ च पुराणविषयकानुसंधानस्य प्रगतौ उपयोगिनो जाताः। पुराणपत्रिकायाः विनिमयेऽपि पत्रिकाः प्राप्यन्ते।

पञ्चाङ्गसुधारसमितेः प्रतिवेदनस्य अनुवादकार्यम्

भारतीयसरकारस्य पञ्चाङ्गसुधारसमितेः आंग्लभाषायां प्रस्तुतस्य प्रतिवेदनस्य काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागद्वारा प्रस्तुतः हिन्दी-अनुवादः सम्प्रति ज्योतिर्विद्यायाः धर्मशास्त्रस्य च विद्वद्भ्यो व्यक्तिगतरूपेण वितरणाय काशिराजन्यासद्वारा प्रकाशितः। अनेन ते विद्वांसोऽस्य आधुनिकदृष्ट्याऽध्ययनाय समर्था भविष्यन्ति, अथ च भारतीय-पञ्चांगनिर्माणस्य विवादास्पदसमस्यायाः समाधाने सहायकाश्च भविष्यन्ति।

VEDA-PĀRĀYAṆA

The Pārāyaṇa of the whole of the Mādhyaṁdina Saṁhitā of the Śukla Yajurveda from memory was arranged on the occasion of the last Vyāsa-Pūrṇima from July 10 to July 24, 1964. The reciter was Vaidikapravara Pt. Manohar Ji Joshi, Varanasi and the śrotā was Vaidikapravara Pt. Ramnath Ji Sarasvata.

PURĀṆA-PĀṬHA AND PRAVACANA

The programme of the Purāṇa-Pāṭha and pravacana was carried out according to the settled plan. In the month of Āṣāḍha (July, 1964) the *Saundarya Laharī*, the famous tāntric work of Śaṅkarācārya, was recited and discourses on it were given by Pt. Badrinath Śukla, Professor of Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University. In the month of Kārtika (November), the *Nāradīya Purāṇa* was recited, and Pt. Anant Shastri Phadake, the retired professor of Purāṇas, of the V. S. University, delivered discourses on it.

CELEBRATION OF THE VYĀSA-UTSAVA

On the last Vyāsa-Purṇimā (in July 1964), the Trust celebrated a Vyāsa-Utsava in its Śivālā Palace. A number of local scholars participated in it, and discussed several problems on the work of the Purāṇas which is being carried out by the Trust. Certain useful suggestions came forward. The Trust is grateful to these scholars for their participation and the learned suggestions.

DISTINGUISHED VISITERS

The following distinguished personages were the guests of His Highness :

(1) Dr. Sampurnananda, Governor of Rajasthan.

(2) Yuvaraj Dr. Karan Singh, Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir.

(3) Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India.

The publications of the Trust were presented to them, which they highly appreciated.

वेदपारायणम्

गतव्यासपूर्णिमाया अवसरे १० जुलाईतः २४ जुलाई १९६४ यावत् शुक्लयजुर्वेदीयमाध्यन्दिनसंहितायाः कण्ठस्थपारायणमभूत । वैदिकप्रवरः पं० मनोहरजोशी पाठकर्ता आसीत्, वैदिकप्रवरः रामनाथसारस्वतश्च श्रोता आसीत् ।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

निश्चितयोजनानुसारेण पुराणपाठः पुराणप्रवचनञ्च संवृत्तम् । आषाढमासे शंकराचार्येण विनिर्मितस्य 'सौन्दर्यलहरी' नाम्नः प्रसिद्धतान्त्रिकग्रन्थस्य पाठोऽभूत् । अस्य वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालीयाध्यापकेन पं० बदरीनाथशुक्लमहोदयेन व्याख्यानं कृतम् । कार्तिकमासे नारदीयपुराणस्य पाठः कृतः । संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्यावकाशप्राप्तेन पुराणाध्यापकेन पं० अनन्तशास्त्रीफडकेमहोदयेन तद्विषयकाणि प्रवचनानि च कृतानि ।

व्यासोत्सवः

गतव्यासपूर्णिमाया अवसरे (जुलाई १९६४) न्यासेन शिवालाभवने व्यासोत्सवस्य आयोजनं कृतम् । अस्मिन् उत्सवे बहवः स्थानीया विद्वांसः उपस्थिता आसन्, यैर्न्यासस्य पुराणकार्यसम्बद्धानामनेकप्रश्नानां विषये विमर्शः कृतः । तेभ्यः केचिद् उपयोगिनो निर्देशा अपि तद्विषये प्राप्ताः । न्यासः एतान् विदुषः प्रति उत्सवे आगमनाय विचारविमर्शनाय च कृतज्ञो वर्त्तते ।

विशिष्टा अतिथयः

अधोनिर्दिष्टा महापुरुषाः तत्रभवतः काशिराजस्य अतिथयोऽभवन् ।

(१) डा० सम्पूर्णानन्दः राजस्थानस्य राज्यपालः ।

(२) युवराज डा० कर्णसिंह, सदरे रियासत, जम्मू-कश्मीर ।

(३) श्री लालबहादुर शास्त्री, भारतदेशस्य प्रधान मंत्री ।

न्यासस्य प्रकाशनानि तेभ्य उपहारीकृतानि यानि तैरभिनन्दितानि ।

The following Indologists visited the Purāṇa-Department of the Trust :—

(1) Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Professor, Indology College, B.H.U.

(2) Dr. Siddheshwar Bhattacharya. Head and Professor of Sanskrit Deptt., B. H. U., and Member of the Central Sanskrit Board.

(3) Dr. Siegfried A. Schulz, Prof. of Comparative philology, Catholic University of America. Washington, D. C.

(4) Dr. Ronald M. Huntington, Professor of Comparative Religions, Chapman College, Orange, California.

(5) Dr. R.K. Sharma, Ministry of Education, Govt. of India.

(6) First Secretary, German Embassy and Miss Bonner.

(7) Delegates to the Social Conference held at Kashi Vidyapitha were invited by His Highness to a tea-party. The delegates, specially Dr. Wadia, took keen interest in the Purāṇa work of the Trust.

These scholars appreciated the work and the publications of the Purāṇa Department. The Trust presented them its publications. We are grateful to them for their interest and co-operation in our Purāṇa work.

MAHARAJA BANARAS VIDYĀ-MANDIR TRUST

We take the pleasure in informing our readers that His Highness Maharaja Banaras, has established another Trust entitled 'Maharaja Banaras Vidyā Mandir Trust' for the propogation of traditional Sanskrit learning and for the preservation of the collections of historical value which belong to the Banaras State Durbar. The following are the Trustees of this Trust :—

1. H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh (Chairman).
2. M. K. Dr. Raghubir Singh.
3. Pt. Giridharilal Mehta.
4. Shri Jagdish K. Munshi.
5. Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid.
6. Shri Jharkhande Prasad Narain Singh.

निम्ननिर्दिष्टा प्राच्यविद्याविद्वांसो काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागकार्यं निरीक्षितवन्त :—

(१) डा० वासुदेवशरण अग्रवालः काशीहिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापकः ।

(२) डा० सिद्धेश्वरभट्टाचार्यः हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षः, सेन्ट्रल संस्कृत बोर्ड संस्थायाः सदस्यश्च ।

(३) डा० ज़ीगफ्रीद शुल्त्स, वाशिंगटननगरस्य कैथोलिक विश्वविद्यालये-भाषाविज्ञान-प्राध्यापकः ।

(४) डा० रोनाल्ड एम० हण्टिंगटन, प्राध्यापकः, कम्परेटिव रिलिजन्स, चैपमैन कालेज, कैलिफोरनिया ।

(५) डा० आर. के. शर्मा, भारतसरकारस्य शिक्षाविभागे संस्कृतशिक्षा-धिकारी ।

(६) कुमारी बोनर महोदयया सह आगतः जर्मनदूतावासाधिकारी ।

(७) काशीविद्यापीठे संभूतस्य सोसलकान्फरेंस सदस्याः । तैः विशेषतः-डा० वाडिया महोदयेन, न्यासस्य पुराणकार्ये स्वरुचिः प्रदर्शिता ।

न्यासः एतेभ्यः स्वप्रकाशनानि समर्पितवान् । पुराणकार्येषु तेषां अभिरुच्यै सहयोगाय च वयं कृतज्ञाः ।

महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासः

इदं सूचयन्तो वयं प्रसन्नतामनुभवामः यत् तत्रभवता काशिराजेन परम्परागतसंस्कृतविद्यायाः प्रचाराय बनारसस्टेटदरबारस्य ऐतिहासिकमहत्त्व-शालिनां संग्रहाणां रक्षणाय च अपरः 'महाराजबनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासनामा न्यासः स्थापितः ।

अस्य न्यासस्य अधोनिर्दिष्टा न्यासधारिणः सन्ति—

(१) तत्रभवान् महाराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह (अध्यक्षः) ।

(२) महाराजकुमार डा० रघुबीरसिंह ।

(३) पं० गिरधारीलाल मेहता ।

(४) श्री जगदीश के० मुंशी ।

(५) पं० राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविडः ।

(६) श्री झारखण्डीप्रसादनारायण सिंह ।

The above trust also proposes to build a temple of the 27 Goddesses of Vidyās.

We wish success for this new Trust and hope that this new Trust will co-operate with the Kashiraj Trust in the sacred cause of the Sanskrit learning.

Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā

The All-India Kashiraj Trust is interested in looking after the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā, which is being maintained by His Highness. The Pāṭhaśālā prepares students for the Sanskrit examination of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University. This Pāṭhaśālā will provide hands to work in the Purāṇa-Department. The students get monthly stipends of Rs. 15/- each. They are also provided some work in the Purāṇa Department, so that they may supplement their income.

Celebration of Rāma-līlā

In the month of September-October each year on the occasion of the Vijaya-Daśamī Rāmalīlā is celebrated at Ramnagar by the Rāmalīlā Deptt. of His Highness. The unique feature of this Rāmalīlā is that it wholly follows the Rāmacarita mānasa of Gosvāmī Tulasidāsa. It is very famous and is visited by thousands of people for its religious and cultural value.

The Trust is much grieved at the sad and sudden demise of Pt. Nilameghacharya and Pt. M. M. Anant Krishna Shastri. Both were great Sanskrit Scholars of Banaras, and also were Professors of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University. They were the contributors to the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. Their learned articles in Sanskrit published so for in the different issues of the 'Purāṇa', speak highly of their learning and scholarly grasp of the Purāṇas. Their death has caused a great loss to the scholarly world and specially to the Kashiraj Trust. We pay our homage to the departed souls.

अयं न्यासः २७ विद्यादेव्याः एकं मन्दिरं निर्मातुमिच्छति। वयं नूतनन्यासस्य साफल्यस्य कामनां कुर्मः, आशामहे च यद् अयं नूतनो न्यासः काशिराजन्यासेन सह संस्कृतविद्यायाः प्रचाराय सहयोगं करिष्यति।

संस्कृतपाठशाला

काशिराजन्यासः महाराजकाशीनरेशस्य संस्कृतपाठशालाया प्रबन्धेऽपि तत्परो वर्तते। एषा पाठशाला वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य परीक्षाहेतोः छात्रान् पाठयति। एषा पाठशाला पुराणविभागकार्ये सहयोगं दास्यति। छात्रेभ्यः प्रत्येकं १५ रु० मासिकवृत्तिः प्रदीयते। तेभ्यः पुराणविभागेऽपि कार्यं दीयते, येन ते आयवृद्धिं कर्तुं शक्नुयुः।

रामलीला

विजयादशमीपर्वावसरे प्रतिवर्षं सितम्बर-अक्टूबर-मासयोः महाराजस्य रामलीलासमित्या रामलीलाया आयोजनं क्रियते। एषा रामलीला गोस्वामितुलसीदासनिर्मितरामचरितमानस्य अनुसरणं करोतीति अस्या लीलाया वैशिष्ट्यम्। एषा लीला अतीव प्रख्याता। अथ च अस्याः धार्मिकसांस्कृतिकमहत्त्वहेतोः सहस्राणि नराः रामलीलां द्रष्टुमागच्छन्ति।

काशिराजन्यासः पं० नीलमेघाचार्यस्य तथा म० म० पं० अनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिणः दुःखदेन आकस्मिकेन च मृत्युना अतीव दुखितः। उभावपि प्रथितसंस्कृतविद्वांसौ तथा संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापकौ आस्ताम्। तयोः केचिल्लेखा अपि पुराणपत्रिकायां प्रकाशिताः। एते लेखास्तयोः पुराणविषयज्ञतां प्रथयन्ति। तयोर्मृत्युना विद्वत्समाजस्य, विशेषतः काशिराजन्यासस्य, महती क्षतिः संजाता। वयं स्वर्गताभ्यामेताभ्यां स्वसम्मानं प्रदर्शयामः।

BOOK-REVIEW

Elements of Poetry in the Mahābhārata by Dr. Ram Karan Sharma, University of California Press, Berkely and Los Angeles, 1964, price : $ 5.00.

The Great Epics of India—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata—have demanded constant attention of modern scholarship. But the structural analysis of the same is a comparatively new trend. The work under review is a fine specimen of analytical mind at work to decipher the basic components of thought elements that went into the composition of the great Epic, Mahābhārata.

The author has carefully drawn attention to the fact that in order to appreciate the basic elements what they are it is necessary to remind ourselves of a very interesting phenomenon that heroic poetry is primarily oral and this is so all over the world. The same lay is recited on various occasions giving rise to different versions of the same thing. So the poet creates afresh although the traditional formulae round which he weaves his poetic fancy remain constant.

It is thus possible to anticipate standard imageries and symbols and the repetitions of the same turns of expressions when at last the heroic poetry is put down to writing. Nay, they eventually become a part of convention so that even in an epic of growth they persist and thus subject themselves to analytical scrūtiny.

It is indeed highly interesting to observe how different minds that worked behind the composition of the Mahābhārata in different centuries reacted in the same way to the situations that called for their poetic utterence. The poets, for example, have taken resort to a vast field of the standards of comparison in order to bring their topics under consideration to clearer relief. But in so doing their minds have drawn upon the same objects. To illustrate, the sun has been compared with to bring to the fore the brilliance of an

object under description. The poetic effusion is not only based upon the minute observation of nature, but it has invaded abstract thoughts of different categories.

The importance of the present work lies in a complete statistical survey of the raw materials in their different facets that were chiselled into the composition of the Mahābhārata. The incongruities that characterize sporadic utterances by diffrent poets at different times are still traceable but they are indicative of a tremendous poetic process pledged to the production of a great epic worthy of embodying the cultural heritage of India.

One wishes that the author developed his thesis further to see how the poetic materials exercised the minds of the composers with what effects. A literary assessment of a work like this could be based upon such study. It is an expectation to be fulfilled.

S. BHATTACHARYA



Image of Vyasa at Varadaraja Temple, Kanchi.

पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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ब्रह्मकृता वामनस्तुतिः

(वामन पु०, वेंकटे०, 30.18-31; मत्स्य पु०, आनन्दा०, 245.67-80)

[तं जातमात्रं भगवान् ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः ।
जातकर्मादिकं कृत्वा कृष्णं तुष्टाव च प्रभुम् ॥]

(वा०, 30.17; म०, 245.66; reconstructed)

ब्रह्मोवाच—

जयाधीश जयाजेय जय सर्वगुरो हरे ।
जन्ममृत्युजराऽतीत जयानन्त जयाच्युत ॥१८॥

जयाजित जयाशेष जयाव्यक्तस्थिते जय ।
परमार्थार्थ सर्वज्ञ ज्ञानज्ञेयार्थनिश्चित ॥१९॥

पाठान्तराणि (Variant readings)

संकेताः (Symbols)—

A = काशिराजपुराणविभागे संवादितानां वामनपुराण-हस्तलिखितकोशानां पाठान्तराणि

B = आनन्दाश्रममुद्रित-मत्स्यपुराणग्रन्थस्य पाठान्तराणि ।

C = आनन्दाश्रम-मत्स्यपुराण-पादटिप्पणीनां पाठान्तराणि ।

D = अत्र पुराणविभागे संवादितानां मत्स्यपुराणकोशानां पाठान्तराणि ।

a, b, c, d = श्लोकस्य क्रमशः प्रथमः द्वितीयः तृतीयः चतुर्थः पादः ।

→ = कृते (for, in place of).

Śl. 18. –a) जयाद्येश (→ जयाधीश) (A,B); जयाव्यक्त (→जयाजेय) (A).
–b) विश्वगुरो (→ सर्वगुरो) (A); जय सर्वात्मकात्मक (A, B).
–c) जय जन्मजराऽतीत (A), जय जन्मजरापेत (B). d–) जय देव (→ जयानन्त) (D).

19. –a) °त जयामेय (D). –d) °र्थनिसृत, °र्थनिश्चय (A), °यात्मनिःसृत (B), °यात्मनिश्चय (C, D), ज्ञानज्ञेयविनिःसृत (D), ज्ञानज्ञेयात्मनिस्मृत (D).

जयाशेष जगत्साक्षिन् जगत्कर्त्तर् जगद्गुरो ।
जगतोऽजगतश्चेश स्थितौ पालयसे जय ॥२०॥

जयाखिल जयाशेष जय सर्वहृदि स्थित ।
जयादिमध्यान्तमय सर्वज्ञानमयोत्तम ॥२१॥

मुमुक्षुभिरनिर्देश्य नित्यहृष्ट जयेश्वर ।
योगिभिर्मुक्तिकामैस्तु दमादिगुणभूषण ॥२२॥

जयातिसूक्ष्म दुर्ज्ञेय जगन्मूल जगन्मय ।
जय सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्म त्वं जय योगिन्नतीन्द्रिय ॥२३॥

जय स्वमायायोगस्थ शेषभोगशयाक्षर ।
जयैकदंष्ट्राप्रान्तेन समुद्धृतवसुंधर ॥२४॥

नृकेसरिन् सुरारातिवक्षःस्थलविदारण ।
साम्प्रतं जय विश्वात्मन् मायावामन केशव ॥२५॥

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20. —c) जगतो जगदन्तेश, जगतो जगदन्तस्तु, अन्ते जगदिदं शेते (A), जगतोऽस्यन्तकृद्देव (B), जगतोऽस्यान्तकृद्देव, जगतोऽस्य समस्तस्य (D). —d) स्थितिं पालयितुं जय (B), स्थितौ पालयते जय (A, D).

21. —a) जय शेष (→ जयाखिल) (B). —b) जगत्सर्वहृदि स्थि० (A), जयाखिलहृदि (B), जयाशेषहृदि (D). —c) °न्त जय (A, B). —d) सर्वज्ञाननिधे जय (B), सर्वज्ञानसमाश्रय (L).

22. —b) स्वयंदृष्ट ज° (B); °ष्ट जनेश्वर (D). —c) °भिर्मुक्तकामैस्तु (A), योगिनां मुक्तिफलद (B).

23. —b) जय स्थूल (→ जगन्मूल) (A, B), जगत्स्थूल (D). —c) °य स्थूलातिसूक्ष्म त्वं (B). —d) जयानिन्द्रिय सेन्द्रिय (A), जयश्रेयोऽप्यतीन्द्रिय (A), जयातीन्द्रिय सेन्द्रिय (B), जय नेन्द्रिय सेन्द्रिय (D).

24. —b) °ग जयाक्षर (A, D), °ग पराक्षर (D). —cd) °न्ताग्रसमु° (B), °न्तान्तसमु० (D).

25. —d) जय वामन के° (A, B).

स्वमायापटलच्छन्न जगद्धातर् जनार्दन ।
जयाचिन्त्य जयानेकस्वरूपैकनिधे प्रभो ॥२६॥

वर्द्धस्व वर्द्धितानेकविकारप्रकृते हरे ।
त्वय्येषा जगती शेष संस्थिता धर्मपद्धतिः ॥२७॥

न त्वामहं न चेशानो नेन्द्राद्यास् त्रिदशा हरे ।
ज्ञातुमीशा न ऋषयः सनकाद्या न योगिनः ॥२८॥

त्वं मायापटसंवीतो जगत्यत्र जगत्पते ।
कस्त्वां वेत्स्यति सर्वेश त्वत्प्रसादं विना नरः ॥२९॥

त्वमेवाराधितो येन प्रसादसुमुख प्रभो ।
स एव केवलं देव वेत्ति त्वां नेतरो जनः ॥३०॥

नन्दीश्वरेश्वरेशान विभो वर्द्धस्व वामन ।
प्रभवायास्य विश्वस्य विश्वात्मन् पृथुलोचन ॥३१॥

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26. —a) निजमायापटच्छन्न (A, B), स्वमायापरिच्छन्न (A), स्वमाया॰परिच्छिन्न (A). —b) जगन्मूर्ते जना° (B), जगद्बुद्धे (D). —d) ॰पैकविध प्र° (A, B).

27. —ab) °स्व वर्द्धिताशेषवि॰ (B), ॰तानेकविस्तरप्र॰ (A). —c) त्वय्येषा जगतामीश (A, D), त्वय्येषा जगतामीशे (A, B), त्वय्येषा जगतीशे तु (A).

28. —b) त्रिदशेश्वराः (→ त्रिदशा हरे) (D). —c) मुनयः (→ ऋषयः) (A, B). —d) ॰द्याश्च यो° (D).

29. —a) त्वन्मायापटसंवीतो (B), त्वन्मायापटसंवीते (D).

30. —a) यस्य (→ येन) (A, D). —b) ॰सुमुखः (A, D). —c) केवलो देव (B), केवलो देवं (D). —d) पुरुषोत्तम (→ नेतरो जनः) (D).

31. —a) तदी° (A, D). —b) विभो तद्वत्स्वभावतः (A); प्रभो (→ विभो) (B); भावन (→ वामन) (A), —c) प्रभावाया° (D), —d) °त्मन् प्रतिलोमतः (D).

NOTE ON THE VĀMANA-STUTI

This *stuti* is a *Jaya-stotra* of God Vāmana or Viṣṇu incarnated as the Dwarf. In this stuti Brahmā utters *'jaya'* (victory) to God Vāmana on the occasion of his incarnation from Aditi, the mother of the gods, and praises him with appropriate divine attributes. Vāmana here has been completely identified with Viṣṇu or Hari, and hence attributes and exploits of Viṣṇu performed by him in his previous *Avatāras*, such as Varāha and Nṛ-siṁha, have also been mentioned here. Vāmana is mentioned here as the lord of the universe, invincible and all-powerful, beyond birth, death and old age, endless, imperishable (Śl. 18), unsurpassed, the whole, without remainder or division, all-knowing and all that is knowable or determined by knowledge (19), witness of the world, creator of the whole universe, lord of the whole world—both animate and inanimate, maintainer and protector of the world (20), residing in the hearts of all the beings, being the begining, middle and the end, omniscience himself, the highest and the best (21), indefinable even by the *mumukṣus* (seekers of *mokṣa* or liberation) and by the *yogins* desiring liberation (*mukti-kāmaiḥ*), or free from desires (*mukta-kāmaiḥ*), ornamented with the qualities of self-control etc. (22), the most subtle, the unknowable, the root of the universe, having the universe as his form, the Yogin, the one beyond the senses (23), abiding in his power of creation (*Māyā-yoga*), lying on the coiled body (*bhoga*) of the Serpent Seṣa, the one who rescued the earth by the tip of his single tusk (24), the Man-lion who tore asunder the chest of the enemy of gods (Hiraṇaya-kaśipu), the soul of the universe, the Vāmana or the Dwarf in-disguise (25), hidden by the curtain of his own *māyā* (power of illusion), the upholder of the world, inconceivable, having innumerable forms, yet ever-remaining in his single (absolute) form (26).

Brahmā also prays to Vāmana, who increased (multiplied) numerous forms or products of the *Prakṛti* (Primeval Matter), to increase or grow (for the well-being of the world and for re-establishing the *Dharma*), for he (Vāmana) is the maintainer of the course (*paddhati*) of dharma in this world (27).

Brahmā then remarks that neither he (Brahmā) nor Īśāna (Śiva), nor the gods like Indra, nor the sages and yogins like Sanaka are able to know Hari (28), and further says "You, O Lord of the universe, are concealed by the curtain of your *Māyā*, no one can know you without your grace. He alone, who by his single devotion has earned your grace, O Lord, can know you" (30). "O All-Powerful, O Lord Vāmana, O the Soul of the universe, increase and grow for the strength and prosperity of this universe." (31), (cf. "पाणौ तु पतिते तोये वामनोऽभूदवामनः ।") (Vām.—30.53; Matsya, 246.52).

There are two versions of the *Vāmana-carita* (or rather the *Bali-Vāmana carita*) in the Vāmana-Purāṇa, the one contained in its Adhyayas 23-31, and the other in its Adhyāyas 73-93. This latter version includes the chapters on the pilgrimages of Prahlāda also, besides several sub-stories or episodes. The former version (Adhs. 23-31) is omitted in the Śāradā Ms., Kashmiri Ms. and the three Bengali Mss. of the Vāmana-Purāṇa collated here, and also in those Devanāgari Mss. which are allied to the Śāradā and Bengali Mss.

This version (Adhs. 23-31), however, is found also in the Matsya-Purāṇa (Ān. edn., Adhs. 244-246) with certain minor variants and adaptations. So this same *Vāmana-stuti* by Brahmā is found in both the places; i. e. in the Vāmana-Purāṇa in its first version (30.18—31) and in the Matsya Purāṇa (245.67-80) in equal number of the ślokas. The other Purāṇas, as for as I know, do not contain this or any other similar *Vāmana-stuti* by Brahmā in their accounts of the *Vāmana-carita*. The Kūrma Purāṇa mentions, however, that Brahmā, along with other gods and sages, attended god Vāmana at the time of his birth from Aditi (KP. I. 17. 41-43). But there is no *stuti* of Vāmana by Brahmā.

The Vāmana-Purāṇa in its second version of the *Vāmana-carita* again gives a *Vāmana-stuti* by Brahmā and that too uttered by him on the occasion of Vāmana's incarnation from Aditi; but this differs in matter and form from the *stuti* of the first

version. This latter *stuti* is a *namaḥ-stotra* and is much shorter, consisting only of six ślokas (Vām. 89. 36-41). It is also given below :—

[पूज्यमानेषु दैत्येषु मिथुनस्थे दिवाकरे।
सुषुवे देवजननी माधवं वामनाकृतिम् ॥३४॥

संजातमात्रं भगवन्तमीशं नारायणं लोकपतिं पुराणम्।
ब्रह्मा समभ्येत्य समं महर्षिभिः स्तोत्रं जगादाथ समं महर्षे ॥३५॥]

नमोऽस्तु ते माधव सत्त्वमूर्त्ते नमोऽस्तु ते सात्वतविश्वरूप।
नमोऽस्तु ते शत्रुवनेन्धनाग्ने नमोस्तु ते पापमहादवाग्ने ॥३६॥

नमोऽस्तु पुण्डरीकाक्ष नमस्ते विश्वभावन।
नमस्ते जगदाधार नमस्ते पुरुषोत्तम ॥३७॥

नारायण जगन्मूर्त्ते जगन्नाथ गदाधर।
पीतवासः श्रियः कान्त जनार्दन नमोऽस्तु ते ॥३८॥

भवांस्त्राता च गोप्ता च विश्वात्मा सर्वगोऽव्ययः।
सर्वधारिन् धराधारिन् रूपधारिन् नमोऽस्तु ते ॥३९॥

वर्धिष्णो वर्द्धिताशेषत्रैलोक्य सुरपूजित।
कुरुष्व त्वं देवपते मघोनोऽश्रुप्रमार्जनम् ॥४०॥

त्वं धाता च विधाता च संहर्त्ता त्वं महेश्वर।
महालयो महायोगी योगशायी नमोऽस्तु ते ॥४१॥

Another *Vāmana-stotra* by Brahmā is also given in the Vāmana-Purāṇa in Adh. 93 in its second version of the *Vāmana-carita*. It is, however, mainly in prose, and the occasion for the *stotra* is also not that of the birth or *Avatāra* of Vāmana. But it is uttered by Brahmā when at the conclusion of his *Vāmana-Carita* Viṣṇu disappeared and went to the abode of Brahmā, and there at the request of Brahmā showed him his cosmic form containing all the Devas within it. So this stotra does not concern us at present.

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

THE SPREAD OF THE VYĀSA VEDAS

By

R. Morton Smith

[पुराणेषु वेदविभागस्य कथनं तत्संदर्भे च व्यासस्य तस्य शिष्यपरम्परायाश्च वर्णनं विद्यते। ब्राह्मणेष्वपि वंशसूच्यः प्राप्यन्ते। लेखकमहोदयेनात्र वंशसूचीनां, गृह्यसूत्रोक्तानाम् अपि नाम्नां, तर्पणेषु प्रोक्तानाम् ऋषिनाम्नां च साहाय्येन पुराणेषु, विशेषतः वायुब्रह्माण्डयोः, प्रोक्तायाः व्यासशिष्यपरम्परायाः नाम्नां पाठाः संशोधिताः व्यासस्य पूर्वजानाम् ऋषीणामपि च नाम्नां पाठाः वंशसूचीसाहाय्येन तर्पणोक्तानाम् ऋषीणां च सूच्याः साहाय्येन संशोधिताः। व्यासस्य सामवेदशाखाप्रवर्त्तिका शुक्लयजुर्वेदशाखाप्रवर्त्तिका च शिष्यपरम्पराऽत्र विशेषेण विचारिता। वायुपुराणस्य ६१ अध्यायस्य ३६–४३ श्लोकानां च पाठः पाठसमीक्षाविज्ञानमाश्रित्य संशोधितः। एतेषां श्लोकानां च पाठविपर्यासस्य पाठलोपस्य चोद्धारः कृतः।]

It has been normal to scout the historical value of the Purāṇas. However, in our recent work *Dates and Dynasties of Ancient India,* we have shown that the Purāṇic tradition makes sense for the kings once textual criticism has been applied to the lists. What can we do for the Brāhmaṇas ? The brahmanical *vaṁśas* go beyond Vyāsa, yet except in the very defective Sāma Vidhāna Vaṁśa, he is completely absent. Yet the Purāṇa has a list of his successors in various Vedas, not so far co-ordinated with any brahmanic *vaṁśa.* Can we reconcile this apparent contradiction ? In this article I hope to show we can, at least with SV and the White YV, despite the bad preservation of names in the Purāṇa.

The first part of the Sāmaveda line is free from doubt, and we are told e. g. in Vā. 60.15ab that Vyāsa treated Jaimini as his prime pupil for SV. and Vā. 61.27-8 we have the line Jaimini-Sumantu Jaimini,-Sutvan Jaimini-Sukarman Jaimini. He was not without his troubles, and one might suggest the rationalization of what is said, that he lost his pupils in a catastrophic defeat of his patron (since he is likely to have been a *purohita*) by a king

(represented as the war-god Indra), and had to begin again. This is the sort of event that is likely to have happened in that society, but it is only offered as a rationalization, for what it is worth.

sa sahasram adhītyāśu Sukarmāpy atha saṁhitāḥ
provācātha sahasrasya Sukarmā sūryavarcasaḥ
anadhyāyeṣv adhīyānāṁs tān jaghāna Śatakratuḥ.

Sukarman having learned quickly 1000 saṁhitās then, Sukarman then/doing good works then imparted (them) to a thousand (pupils) glorious as the sun ; them learning at improper times/places Indra killed. (No variations in text. sūryavarcasaḥ could be taken as nom. sing. masc. (thematic), or acc. pl. fem. of *saṁhitāḥ*, but these make no real difference, unless Sukarman sold his Saṁhitās for 1000 (kārṣāpaṇas/cows) : gen. of values).

Sukarman did dhāraṇā on Indra for this, and Indra seeing him angry gave him two choice pupils, Hiraṇyanābha and Pauṣpiñji, The former and his pupil Kṛta are anachronisms, and the king-lists show their floruits at 1080 & 1060 schematic respectively. Kṛta is given 24 pupils, (but there are not 24 names in a very corrupt textual passage), Vā. 61.44ff, but there are no pupils of any of them, whereas Pauṣpiñji's are given in lines of succession. This means the source of information is ultimately different, and in effect admits that there were other SV. schools than that of the Kuru court in the Madhyadeśa. I have not so far been able to find or identify Kṛta's pupils elsewhere.

Pauṣpiñji's pupils were called the Northern school, and we are told more of them in again a disordered passage, (Vā. 61.36-43)

61. *Lokākṣi Kuthumiś caiva Kuśitī Lāṅgalis tathā*

36. Pauṣpiñji-śiṣyāś catvāras teṣāṃ bhedān nibodhata 711

This verse is fairly straightforward ; there is the simple variation Lokākṣi/Laugākṣi, and some Vā. read-in. I suspect the *Loka* is a hyperSanskritism as Prakrit would at some stage have shown a. g; the form depends on the original meaning of the name, and lokākṣa, eye of the world, does not really make good sense and if we want the root √*kṣi*=rule, this is not properly brahman. We suspect that the g is original, and we have the word that appears

in Celtic Lug—of the long arm, Gaulish lugus—raven. Animal-part-names seem to be specially brahmanic, and Crow-eye/Raven-eye would fit well.

Bḍ.'s Kuśumi for Kuthumi is certainly wrong; but eVā. would support Kuśīdin (eVā. Kuśīrī, Bḍ. Kuśīdir); one thinks of the name Kusīdin Kāṇva of RV. Or one might suggest the grandfather of Kauṣītaka Sāmaśravasa, since the dates would fit; Vyāsa's floruit is c 1010 schematic, Jaimini c 990-85, Kuśīti(n)/-Kuṣīti(n) would come c 880 at 5 generations down which would make his grandson contemporary, and great-grandson pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi (835 sch.) easily and naturally.

The text now suffers displacement, corruption and lacunas; there is no sign of Kuśītin's pupils, and in eVā. no mention of Laugākṣi's.

Rāṇāyanīyaḥ Sahitaṇḍiputras tasmād ango mūlacārī suvidvān

37. *śakaitiputraḥ sahasātyaputra etān bhedān vitta Laugākṣiṇas tu*
trayas tu Kuthumeḥ putrā aurasā rasapāsaraḥ

38. *Bhāgavittiś ca tejasvī trividhā Kauthumāḥ, smṛtāḥ*
Śauridyuḥ Sṛṅgiputraś ca dvāv etau caritavratau

39. *Rāṇāyaṇīyi Saumitriḥ sāmavedaviśāradau*
provāca saṁhitās tisraḥ Śṛṅgiputro mahātapāḥ.

40. *Cailaḥ Prācīnayogaś ca Surālaś ca dvijottamaḥ*
provāca saṁhitāḥ ṣaṭ tu Pārāśaryas tu Kauthumaḥ

41. *Asurāyaṇa Vaiśākhyau Vedavṛddhaparāyaṇau*
prācīnayogaputraś ca buddhimāṁś ca Patañjaliḥ

42. *Kauthumasya tu bhedāste Pārāśaryasya ṣaṭ smṛtāḥ*

If Aurasa is a son of Kuthumi, as translated by the vulgate, then there is no place or construction for Śṛṅgiputra; if he is not, 38d, *trividhā* K. *smṛtāḥ* is in a very odd place. There is no construction for 40cd, and Pārāśarya appears from nowhere. 38 should then be replaced after 40. This does not end our troubles. eVā reads *Cārāyaṇīyasahitas Taptiputras tasmād anyas tānucārī suvidvān.* In 39c it again has not Rāṇāyanīya, but Nārāyaṇayaṇā, which is easily reread to Cārāyaṇīya; Bḍ. has Nāḍāyanīya. There is a black YV school of Cārāyaṇīyas, and the Laugākṣins seem to have been absorbed in the Kaṭhas

also of black YV, since Kaṭha. GS. & Śulba Sūtras also go under their name. The sacrificer needs some Sāma-singers, and presumably Laugākṣi attached himself and pupils to the Kaṭha YV school, or at least his main line did.

We may however note the eVā. line does not scan, but would do well as *pāda* a of an *anuṣṭubh*, while we can get an equally good *anuṣṭubh* ending from Vā. omitting its final *tu*, which is the merest of padding. We suggest then there has been fusion as well as displacement, and the original read

Cārāyaṇīyasahitās......
etān bhedān vitta Laugākṣiṇaḥ 712
1

The contaminating verse began with Rāṇāyanīyaḥ, and eVā. has kept it fairly faithfully, but it should be transposed with 38. We may now try the next verse

Cārāyaṇīyaḥ saumitriḥ sāmavedaviśāradau
Sauresu Śṛṅgiputraś ca dvāv etau caritavratau 713
1

We have inverted these lines, and admit lack of Ms evidence, but the *ca* becomes natural and the construction much smoother. Vā/Bḍ. have Rāṇāyanīya in a under the influence of the *triṣṭubh* above, but otherwise I can find nothing on ab ; eVā. has yaṇākaurīthau ; one might see the name Sunītha here, but I have no plausible suggestions. In c Bḍ. reads śauriṣuśṛṅgī-śṛṅgi , Vā. Śausidyaḥ Sṛṅgī, eVā. śairingiśraṅga- ; we lengthen the -i because all the -putra names we can find in Vedic are metronymics, though one can think of Jñātṛputra/Nātaputta of Mahāvīra. But also we think we can identify him by his pupils as Dṛti Aindrota Śaunaka (Śṛṁgi/Śauṅgīputra). Indrota could by his gotra marry Śṛṅgī/Śauṅgī. Sauresu we extract from Śaurīṣu as suitable residence for Dṛti, among the Śaura/Śaurasenas. and it gives the right scansion for the M vipula. In d Bḍ. reads tu *ciravratau*, which if right would be suciravratau.

Provāca saṁhitās tisras Śṛṅgiputro mahātapāḥ
Cailaḥ Prācīnayogaś ca Surālaś ca dvijottamāḥ 714
1

In the JUB vaṁśa Dṛti Aindrota Śaunaka teaches Puluṣa Prācīnayogya, and in Vaṁśa Br., Arāḷa Dārteya Śaunaka. We suggest Surāla is substituted to make the omen good (cf. Suyodhana for Duryodhana, Suṣmanta for Duṣmanta). Dṛti's floruit is 873 sch., so his pupils would be 855-0 sch. We should therefore find Caila. We might find him in Celaka Śāṇḍilyāyana whom we could put at 850, father of Jīvala Cailaki, who found (Uddālaka) Āruṇi wanting in SpB II 3/1.35, himself the father of Pravāhana Jaivali, who taught Śvetaketu. It would be possible to put them up one generation, as Pravāhana if born c 840 could still teach Śvetaketu, and Cailaki could then be born c 870 ; but there is nothing in the e/ai variation as for as Mss are concerned. Celaka told Daiyāmpati how to build a fire in ŚpB IX. 5/1.64, and Atyaṁhas Āruṇi, who should be Uddālaka's brother, sent a pupil to question Daiyāmpati, which should be c 830. 850/5 is then reasonable for Celaka, though he could be put up to 870, and his son be Dṛti's pupil with floruit as late as 840.

We have seen that if Jaimini is put at 990, Pauṣpiñji, 4 down can be placed at 910 ; Laugākṣi would then be 892 sch. and Dṛti where he already is at 873. Dṛti's father Indrota has a schematic data of generation 40 at 893 ; he was brought in by Janamejaya III late in his reign to perform an aśvamedha, so that while he would not himself be a pupil of the court Vedic school of Vyāsa and his followers, but it is probably that his son would be apprenticed immediately, if of age for it, as might be expected. By performing the aśvamedha Indrota could well claim to be chief priest ; hence in regard to the line of teaching, Dṛti both from filial piety and social pride might well trace his line of learning not from Jaimini but from his own father ; and this would be more likely if he was of some age on Indrota's move to Hastināpura, and had learnt some from his father ; this might give a rather short generation in the Jaimini vaṁśa from Vyāsa-Pauṣpiñji could be at 905, Laugākṣi 885, Dṛti 873 (all sch.). Dṛti might well have been given the upanīti by his father, so that he would be born c 905, but not much after. (We take Laugākṣi rather

than Kuśiti(n) as his teacher because we seem to have straight, not reverse, order in this passage, and Kuśīti would involve more transposition in the Mss ; as it is he involves a lacuna, very old.)

Here then we have one conquest of the Vyāsa school, and it depends ultimately on the prestige of the Kuru hegemony, as does that of the white Yajurveda, as we shall see. There were Eastern Sāman schools, but I cannot find the patronymics of the Kārta schools in what vaṁśas we have, though it must be confessed that the text in that passage of the Purāṇa is abominable. We may however be able to confirm the vaṁśa of the SVB (Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa) defective as it is, from the Purāṇa.

This runs upwards Tāṇḍi-Bādarāyaṇa-Pārāsaryāyaṇa-Pauṣpiñji. If we take the inserted *triṣṭubh* Vā 61.37, very close to eVā which as we saw only had an extra-tas, we have

Rāṇāyanīyaḥ sa hi Taṇḍiputras 715 a
1

which means "Rāṇāyanīya, for he is son of Taṇḍi" ; it is no great emendation to Tāṇḍi–, Now we are told that the Sātyamugris are closely connected with the Rāṇāyanīyas, and this will appear if we follow eVā. with only emendation of tva for tā,

tasmād anyas tv anucārī suvidvān 715 b
1

"After him there was another very knowledgeable follower" Vā.'s mūlacārī must be wrong, since the Sātyamugris' is not a main recension of the text. Bḍ.'s *tasmād anovainanāmāsuvidvān* makes no sense at all, but as it has Vaina for Caila, we may here have a fragment of our fragmented śloka 712 above. Continuing eVā. we read 1

Kauśīsuto' sau sa ha Sātyamugriḥ 715 c
1

"That one is son of Kauśī, Sātyamugri". Possibly we should read Kautsī, as Sātyamugri could be Kautsīputra. Vā. reads sakaitiputraḥ, Bḍ. sakotiputraḥ suhasāsunāmā. eVā. then gives us succinctly a vaṁśa Tāṇḍi, Rāṇāyanīya, Sātyamugri, which is credible from what we know otherwise. The last pāda of eVā. I find surprizing,

bhedā vedānāṁ vihitā yais trayāṇām. 715 d
1

"by whom the divisions of the Triple vedas are laid down."

We may now return to Vā. 61. 38; its pada b auraso/ā rasapāsaraḥ is meaningless. eVā. agrees with Bḍ. in reading *Śiṣyā* for Va. Putrā, but I suspect that the Va. reading rises from the proper meaning of Auraso, not a name, but that this pupil was his own son and we expect eVā./Bd. is right in calling him Parāśara.

trayas tu Kuthumeḥ śiṣyā auraso sa Parāśaraḥ......
Bhāgavittiś ca tejasvī trividhā Kauthumāḥ smṛtāḥ 716
1

(No variants for this last) we must now take Vā. 41

SVB names Pārāśaryāyaṇa; we might settle with the Purāṇa's Pārāśarya for him, and accept the 'Purāṇa's patronymic because of the double patronymic of SVB for we should certainly have had Parāśaraḥ. Parāśara as Kuthumi's son would be at c 860, hardly before 865. Pārāśarya would be 840, but if we have to take a further generation owing to SVB's—āyana, then the upper limit is 820; this gives 2 generations to Taṇḍi, 780-70, and if he is responsible for the Tāṇḍya-ness of Tāṇḍya/Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, he might finish that work c 750, which would give time for Ekayāvan Gāndama in PvB 21/14.20. Sātyamugri would be c 730, and Śāṭyāyana, co-eval with Taṇḍi in SVB would be father or grandfather (perhaps more likely) of Śaṅga Śāṭyāyani Ātreya of JUB generation 31 c 722 sch.

Provāca saṁhitāḥ ṣaṭ tu Pārāśaryaś ca Kauthumiḥ (*read-asya*)
Āsurāyaṇa-Vaiśākhyau Vedavṛddhaparāyaṇau.

The first of these lines may be inserted; there is an awkward double tu in b in Va. & Bḍ. For Āsurāyaṇa & Vaiśākhi I have nothing to say, but Pārāyaṇa is wrong;—ayana as patronymic demands vṛddhi, which would not scan here; so we have a non-initial syllable. In view of SVB it is fairly easy to emend to Bādarāyaṇa, who comes after Pārāśaryāyaṇa. This reduces the other name to Vedavṛdh/t; this name is not known, but Vedabhṛt is guarnteed by the metornymic Yāska Vaidabhṛtī-putra of BrU. generation 29, 685 sch. e Va.'s -aś ca is apt to be identical with -asya ; it also reads sandhāḥ for ṣaṭ tu, and this

might mean "united, complete". Removing the number we also remove the pleonasm of the following verse, and as pra+vac takes the gen. we might try

provāca saṁhitāḥ sandhāḥ Pārāśaryasya Kauthumiḥ/aḥ 717 ab 1

"The son of Kuthumi told complete saṁhitās to the son of Parāśara,"

ĀsurāyaṇaVaiśākhyau VedabhṛdBādarāyaṇau
Prācīnayogaputraś ca buddhimāṁś ca Patañjaliḥ
Kauthumasya tu bhedās te Pārāśaryasya ṣaṭ smṛtāḥ 717 2

Prācīnayogaputra might well be Somaśuṣma Sātyayajñi, grandson of Puluṣa who appears in the Vedavyāsa/tarpaṇa list. e Vā reads -rājaputra, but this is not a convincing title.

Lāṅgali's pupils are also given in the next verse, but I find little to say on them ; the text is corrupt and I have not identified any.

Lāṅgaliḥ Śālihotraś ca ṣaḍ uvācātha saṁhitāḥ
Bhālukiḥ Karmahāniś ca Jaiminir Lomakāyiniḥ
Kaṇḍuś ca Kohalas caiva ṣaḍ ete Lāṅgalāḥ smṛtāḥ 718

Bḍ. is in chaos with hālinirjyāmahāniśca ; Vā. has kāmahāni, eVā. begins with vaḍukiṣ ; Vā./Bḍ. have Lomagāyini, which is that little bit off a partonymic—there is no sign of Lauma-; we may in fact have only one name, Jaimini Hairy-body, though kāya = body does not seem to be attested before Katy. ŚS. (MW). We take Kaṇḍu and Kohala against minor variants in view of the later Kauhalas in VB, and the Kāṇḍvīyas of JUB, of which the first, Janaśruta, would be genealogically suited to be great-grandson of Kaṇḍu who would be c 860, and Janaśruta is generation 34 of 780 sch. This is said in view of Jānaśruti pautrāyaṇa of ChU 4/1 ; the designation 'great-grandson' might easily cause the simple name to be changed to patronymic ; we are however presenting a possibility, not a proven fact.

The other case in which we can join Veda and Purāṇa is that of Yājñavalkya and the White YV. In Br.U we again have vaṁśas going up to and beyond Vyāsa, but no apparent sign of Vaiśampāyana or him. But in 2 & 4 and also in 6 the line is

traced to Śāṇḍilya who in BrU 6 is a great-grand-pupil of Tura Kāvaṣeya. We have dealt with the passage in our *Dates and Dynasties of Early India,* c. 703-16. What emerges is that Janamejaya set up the Vājasaneyins—he was consecrated by Tura, as the Brāhmaṇa tells us. Janamejaya caused a brahman to do a sacrifice the Vājasaneya way over the protests of Vaiśampāyana, and the sacrifice was begun with a Paurṇamāsa, sacrificing to Prajāpati. The officiant is not named, but is very likely to have been Janamejaya's special priest, hence Tura, who consecrated him. It is then significant that in the BrU vaṁśa Tura's teacher was Prajāpati, the recipient of the Paurṇamāsa, and that the Turāyaṇa, which must be called after him, is a modification of the Paurṇamāsa. It is then natural to see in Janamejaya's Vājasaneya brahman Tura Kāvaṣeya, whose floruit by the genealogies is 930, generation 42. He would have to be a pupil of Yājñavalkya, whose date would then be c. 960-50, very suitable for a younger pupil of Vaiśampāyana ; he might also be the pupil of Bāṣkala and grandpupil of Paila in RV, whose floruit could be the same 950. This might account for the general faithfulness to RV of the VS borrowings. As often, the reformer won, but his enemies were by no means silenced, and Tura fell out of favour later in the reign (he fell into a decline, being reproved as the Purāṇa says), so it may well be that it is the violence of the split that caused Yājñavalkya's name and that of his hostile teacher to be dropped from the vaṁśa ; Tura's devotion to Prajāpati could be used as a respectable face-saver.

There is another slight possibility of connection with White YV. Śāṇḍilya is also great-grand-pupil of Gālava, whose floruit also would be 930. In Vā. 61.25, we have as one of Yājñavalkya's pupils Gālavaśaiśirī (du.). However, the passage is incredibly corrupt, and I cannot offer a text.

* * * * *

This may also be the place to point out the connection between the list of Vedavyāsas in the Purāṇas, Vā. 103 (=Bḍ. 4/4.58ff), Vā. 23 Bḍ. 2/35, Vi. 3/3, and the tarpaṇas of Bharad., Baudh., & Hir. GSS. which show the reverse order of what must

originally be the same list. I do not understand the significance of this, but someone else may have an idea. eVā. does not go as far as 103. The list in the Purāṇa is as follows ;

1. Svayambhu (Vā. 103 Brahmā)
2. Prajāpati „ Mātariśvan
3. Uśanas = Bhārgava of Vā./eVā. 23
4. Bṛhaspati = Aṅgiras „ „ „ „
5. *Savitṛ
6. *Mṛtyu
7. *Indra = Śatakratu „ „ „
8. *Vasiṣṭha
9. Sārasvata
10. *Tridhāman (Lacuna eVā.)
11. *Trivṛṣan (so eVā. Vi.;—vaṛṣa, —viṣṭa, —vṛd tiṣṭhad; cett.)
12. ? Śatatejas (gata—eVā.) or Mahāsattva Vā. 23, Saradavant Vā. 103, Sanadvāja Bḍ. 2/35, Bharadvāja Vi.
13. Antarikṣa (Surakṣa Va. 23, but eVā. correct)
14. *Dharmin ? GSS Varmin, Va 103 Varṣin/Carṣin, Vi. Vapra, Bḍ. 2/35 Dharma, all Vā. 23 Dharma Nārāyaṇa. If the GSS & Purāṇa do mean the same name, he is the only one displaced from reversed order.
15. *Tryaruṇa
16. Dhana *Dhanañjaya
17. Kṛta *Kṛtañjaya
18. Ṛta *Ṛtaṁjaya
18a. (T)Ṛna *Ṛṇañjaya

(vll. Trayyaruṇa, Aruṇa eVā. Āruṇi Vā. 23). There seems to have been early confusion on these names also on the question whether these were 3 or 4. Vā. 103 has Dhana—, Kṛta—, Tṛṇa—; Bḍ. 2/35 Dhana—, Kṛta—, Ṛjīṣa'. ; Vā. 23 Samjaya eVā. śararddhajā!), Kṛta—, Ṛta—; but Baudh. GS knows Tṛṇa—. It is possible that the original name was Tṛṇañcaya = piling the sacred grass.

19. Bharadvāja
20. ? Gautama (om. all Vā. 23)

21.	*Haryatvana	The name is variously corrupt, and may be —vata. Vi. has Gotama, uttama haryātman, *vena* rājaśravas, which looks as if the finals of two names have got doubled. eVā. lacuna. Vā 23 has doubled the next. GSS Haryajvan/-aśva, Bḍ. 2/35 Haryavana, Vā. 103 Niryantara. Bḍ. 2/35 also has Vena before Vājaśravas.
22.	*Vājaśravas	
23.	*Somaśuṣman	Vā. 23 has Somaśuṣmāyana, corrupted to
24.	*Tṛṇabindu	Śuklāyana, Vi. has Somaśuṣmāyana Tṛṇabindu, Baudh. GS has -man & -māyaṇa, Bḍ. 2/35 Somamukhyāyana, Bh. GS. Vā. 103 Somaśuṣman only.
25.	*Tarukṣa	This name is unanimous in the GSS, but has to be reconstructed for the Purāṇa; eVā. lacuna; Bḍ 2/35 *Ta*taja, Vā. 23 Vi. *Ṛkṣa*. Vā. 103 Da*kṣa*.
26.	Śakti	
27.	Parāśara	
28.	*Jātukarṇya (GSS, Vā 23; eVā., Vā. 103, Bḍ. 2/35 -ṇa)	
29.	*(Kṛṣṇa) Dvaipāyana	

Those marked with asterisk appear in the GSS. No. s 13-20 can be found in the Aikṣvākava king-list, which goes Kinnarāśva-ANTARIKṢA–Suparṇa–Sumitra - BHARADVĀJA - DHARMIN-KṚTAÑJAYA - Suvrata - RAṆAÑJAYA - SAÑJAYA (cf. Vā. 23 forms of Dhanañjaya) - (Śākya - Suddhodana - GAUTAMA Siddhārtha). The list order may be confused, but there seem too many names for coincidence. Tryaruṇa Trivṛṣan Tridhāman, found consecutively in GSS, must remind one of the Vedic Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣṇa / Traidhātva (PvB 13/3.12) Trasadasyu Aikṣvāka, though what to infer from that I do not know. Somaśuṣman should be Vājaratnāyana (as appears from the GSS), fl. 890, and Vājaśravas' schematic floruit is 912. No.s 26-9 can give the line of Vyāsa's teachers, but I cannot place Tṛṇabindu or Tarukṣa.

We may now look at the GSS. Baudh. GS has the oldest form ; Bharad. & Hir. have suffered transpositions, and all have received insertions.

*1. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana
*2 Jātukarṇya
*3 Tarukṣa
*4 Tṛnabindu
*5 Somaśuṣman. In view of Vi. noted above, which would say Tṛṇabindu was descended from Somaśuṣman, we might take Somaśuṣmāyana who follows, but is sole representative in Hir. as a gloss.
6 Vājin Baudh. Hir., but the form may well have been Vājaratna displaced in Hir., but next but one in Bharad. ; we suggest also originally if not a gloss, like Tryaruṇa-Trivṛṣan below, and indicating S. Vājaratnāyana.
*7 Vājaśravas
8 Bṛhaduktha } Variously displaced.
9 Vāmadeva " " but contiguous in Hir., probably better as Nos. 11-2, since this involves only the displacement of Bṛhaduktha in Baudh.
*10 Dharmin
11 Varūtha/ } Dharmin is given as Varmin, which may well be right, or under the influence of Varūtha (—in Bharad).
*12 Sa......name uncertain ; Sanatkumāra Baudh., (cf. Bḍ. 2/35 Sanadvāja), Sattvavant Bharad., Hir.
*13 Haryatvana ; follows Vājaratna in Hir, and at one remove in Baudh.
14 Udamegha—maya Brarad., Hir.
*15 (T) Ṛṇañjaya Baudh. has ṛṇa-, tṛṇa-kṛta-, dhana-, satya-;
*16 Kṛtañjaya Bharad. has ṛṇa- ṛta-, kṛta-, dhana-; Hir. as Budh.
*17 Dhanañjaya
*18 Babhru
*19 Tryaruṇa
*20 Trivṛṣan the name is given in all GSS as Trivarṣa.
*21 Tridhātu

22 name uncertain ; Baudh. Aśvajña, Bharad. Aśvayajña, Hir. Śibinta ! ; this may be meant to Correspond to the Purāṇa Sārasvata, somehow.

23 Parāśara

24 Vasiṣṭha He is omitted by Baudh., but the Purāṇa suggests he should be here, and the confusion has probably arisen since Vasiṣṭha is Parāśara's patronymic. Baudh. also omits Indra next, but the Purāṇa again shows Bharad. right in retaining him.

*25	Indra	Hir. is defective after Parāśara. Baudh. has kartṛ.
26	Mṛtyu	
27	Kartṛ	vi-, & su-, and with Bharad. also dhātṛ, vidhātṛ,
28	Tvaṣṭṛ	
29	Dhātṛ	Bharad. again supplies what Baudh. has lost, and give us Savitṛ with the Purāṇa. Baudh. has in stead Su-, Suta-, & Satya-śravas, who appear high up (no. s 9-11) in Hir.
30	Savitṛ	

We may then suggest the original list as follows :

1 Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana
2 Jātukarṇya
3 Tarukṣa
4 Tṛṇabindu Somaśuṣmāyana ?
5 Somaśuṣman Vājaratnāyana
6 Vājaśravas
7 Haryatvana
8 Ṛṇañjaya (Tṛṇa-)
9 Kṛtañjaya
10 Dhanañjaya
11 Dharmin — Place uncertain
12 Sanadvāja — & name uncertain ; Sanad-= „ Bharad-vāja ?
13 Tryaruṇa Traivṛṣaṇa Traidhātva
14 name uncertain
15 Vasiṣṭha
16 Indra

17 Mṛtyu
18 Savitṛ

The patronymics can be reduced to extra names.

We do not claim to be satisfied with our efforts, since we would like to know who made up the list why when. The tarpaṇas of Aśv., Śamb., Śankh., Laug. GSS are drawn from the Vedas, or rather Brāhmaṇa writings; but the first 4 names of their common list are the classical Purāṇa pupils of Vyāsa, Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśampāyana, Paila; and this is a reverse order of Vā. 60.14–5. Otherwise they show no contact with the Purāṇa.

Abreviations—

Bḍ. = Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa.
Vā. = Vāyu-Purāṇa
Vi. = Viṣṇu-Purāṇa
JUB. = Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa
PvB = Pañcaviṁśa "
ŚVB = Sāma-Vidhāna "
ŚPB = Śatapatha "
VB = Vaṁśa "
GS = Gṛhya-Sutras;
  Aśv. = Āśvalāyana
  Baudh. = Baudhāyana
  Bharad. = Bharadvāja
  Hir. = Hiraṇyakeśin
  Laug. = Laugākṣi
  Śāmb. = Śāmbavya
  Śāṅkh. = Śāṅkhyāyana.

Sch. = Schematic; all dates given are schematic, however minute and definite they appear; a teacher's generation of 18½ years (justified also by the Jain example) must leave numbers which are not round numbers in 5 or 0. Our dating depends for the Kings on our *Dates and Dynasties of Early India I*, and for the the Brāhmaṇas on what will be the Pt. II of that work, based on the Vaṁśas.

ŚĀKHĀS OF THE KṚṢNA YAJURVEDA IN THE PURĀṆAS

BY

GANGA SAGAR RAI

[शुक्लयजुर्वेदीयशाखानां विवरणं पूर्वस्मिन् निबन्धे प्रदत्तम्। अत्र कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयशाखानामुद्भवविस्तारविषयको विमर्शः कृतः। कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य शाखानां प्रवर्तनं व्यासशिष्येण वैशम्पायनेन कृतम्। तस्यैव शिष्यप्रशिष्यैः षडशीतिसंख्याकाः कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयशाखा निबद्धाः। निबन्धेऽस्मिन् पौराणिकसाक्ष्याधारेण अन्यसाक्ष्यैश्च कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्योपलब्धानामनुपलब्धानाञ्च शाखानां विवरणं दत्तम्। अत्र षडशीतिसंख्याकासु कृष्णयजुर्वेदीयशाखासु ४३ शाखानामेव निर्देशः कृतः। अन्यासामुल्लेखस्तु नोपलभ्यते। त्रिचत्वारिंशत्सु शाखास्वपि कासाञ्चित् नामोल्लेख एव प्राप्यते। आसामपि शाखानां मध्ये प्रचलितानां कठ-तैत्तिरीय-कठकापिष्ठल-मैत्रायण्यादिशाखानां परिचयो विशेषेण दत्तः।]

The Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda is recognised as one of the recension of the Yajurveda. In it the prose and the verses are not separated; both kinds of matter, i. e. the Mantra and the Brāhmaṇa portions are mixed in the Saṁhitā. In this respect, the term Black or the Kṛṣṇa was applied to this recension in contradiction to that of the White or *Śukla* Yajurveda, which consisted only of the Mantras[1]. The name *Taittirīya* was used for the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda (KYV.) and its appearance cannot be traced earlier than that in its own Prātiśākhya-Sūtra and in the Sāma-Sūtra.[2]

The Yajurveda was taught by Vyāsa to one of his pupils, named Vaiśampāyana who divided it into eighty-six Śākhās and taught it to his pupils.[3] So Vaiśampāyana is said to be the original propagator of the Śākhās of the KYV. Vaiśampāyana has a unique place in the Vedic and Purāṇic lore. It was he from whom sprang all the Śākhās of the KYV. This was the

1. Weber, Lectures on the History of Indian Literature, p. 86.
2. Ibid.
3. Vāyu-P. 61.5; Bḍ-P., I. 35. 10

reason why Śabarasvāmin regarded him as *Sarvaśākhādhyāyī*.[1] According to the Purāṇas, he did not attend the 'Meru-conference' of the Brāhmaṇas and incurred the sin of *Brahmahatyā*.[2] He was invited for the Rājasūya of Yudhiṣṭhira. According to the Mahābhārata he told the story of Mahābhārata to king Janamejaya after his Serpent-sacrifice. In the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa he is mentioned as a Paurāṇika[3] Tradition identifies Vaiśampāyana with Caraka. The word 'caraka' is derived from √*Car* to wander. On Pāṇini IV. 3. 104 Kāśikā says that Caraka is the name of Vaiśampāyana.[4] Pāṇini has referred to the word 'caraka' in the sense of a Śākhā.[5] This name seems to be attributed to Vaiśampāyana obviously on the basis of his literary activities shifting from place to place. His students were also known as Carakas.

ŚĀKHĀS OF THE KYV.

In the Vāyu-Purāṇa the following description of the Śākhās of the KYV. is given :

वैशम्पायनगोत्रोऽसौ यजुर्वेदं व्यकल्पयत् ।
षडशीतिस्तु येनोक्ताः संहिता यजुषां शुभाः ॥

शिष्येभ्यः प्रददौ ताश्च जगृहुस्ते विधानतः ।
एकस्तत्र परित्यक्तो याज्ञवल्क्यो महातपाः ॥

षडशीतिस्तु तस्यापि संहितानां विकल्पकाः ।
सर्वेषामेव तेषां वै त्रिधा भेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

त्रिधा भेदास्तु ते प्रोक्ता भेदेऽस्मिन्नवमे शुभे ।
उदीच्या मध्यदेशाश्च प्राच्याश्चैव पृथग्विधाः ॥

श्यामायनिरुदीच्यानां प्रधानः सम्बभूव ह ।
मध्यदेशप्रतिष्ठानामारुणिः प्रथमः स्मृतः ॥

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1. स्मर्यते च वैशम्पायनः सर्वशाखाध्यायी (Mimāmsābhāṣya I. 1. 30.)
2. Bd. P. II. 1. 3. ; 33. 5 ; 34. 33 ; 35. 8-9 ; Vāyu 61. 14-16 ; Mbh. Anu. 6.3.
3. Bhāg. XII. 7.5
4. चरक इति वैशम्पायनस्याख्या (Kāśikā)
5. कठचरकाल्लुक् IV. 3. 107

आलम्बिरादिः प्राच्यानां त्रयोदश्यादयस्तु ते ।
इत्येते चरकाः प्रोक्ताः संहितावादिनो द्विजाः ॥

Vāyu., 61. 5-10

The Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa also says the same thing :

वैशम्पायनशिष्योऽसौ यजुर्वेदमकल्पयत् ।
षडशीतिस्तु तेनोक्ताः संहिता यजुषां शुभाः ।

शिष्येभ्यः प्रददौ ताश्च जगृहुस्ते विधानतः ।
एकस्तत्र परित्यक्तो याज्ञवल्क्यो महातपाः ॥

षडशीतिस्तथा शिष्याः संहितानां विकल्पकाः ।
सर्वेषामेव तेषां वै त्रिधा भेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

त्रिधा भेदास्तु ते वेदभेदेऽस्मिन्नवमे शुभे ।
उदीच्या मध्यदेश्याश्च प्राच्याश्चैव पृथग्विधाः ॥

श्यामायनिरुदीच्यानां प्रधानः सम्बभूव ह ।
मध्यदेशप्रतिष्ठाता चासुरिः प्रथमः स्मृतः ॥

आलम्बिरादिः प्राच्यानां त्रयो देश्यादयस्तु ते ।
इत्येते चरकाः प्रोक्ताः संहितावादिनो द्विजाः ॥

Bd. I. 35. 8-13.

The Agni-Purāṇa briefly mentions the Śākhās of the KYV :

···कठी मध्यकठी तथा ॥ 4 ॥

मैत्रायणी च संज्ञा च तैत्तिरीयाभिधानिका ।
वैशम्पायनिकेत्याद्याः शाखा यजुषि संस्थिताः ॥ 5 ॥

Agni.-P. Ch. 270,

In the Viṣṇu and the Bhāg. Purāṇas the names of the Śākhās of the KYV. are not mentioned. Only reference is made to the Taittirīyas.

यजूंषि तित्तिरा भूत्वा तल्लोलुपतयाऽऽददुः ।
तैत्तिरीया इति यजुः शाखा आसन् सुपेशलाः ॥

Bhāg. XII. 6. 65.

and

यजूंष्यथ विसृष्टानि याज्ञवल्क्येन वै द्विज ।
जगृहुस्तित्तिरा भूत्वा तैत्तिरीयास्तु ते ततः ॥

Viṣṇu III. 5. 12.

According to the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka, among the eighty-six Śākhās of the KYV. twelve are the sub-divisions of the Carakas, six of the Maitrāyaṇīyas, two of the Taittirīyas and five of the Khāṇḍikeyas.[1] According to the Mahābhāṣya Vaiśampāyana had nine pupils.[2] In the Atharvan Caraṇavyūha fourteen Śākhās are mentioned.[3] The list given in the Prapañcahṛdaya is obscure and is not corroborated by others.

In the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka, Caraka, Maitrāyaṇīya, Taittirīya and the Khāṇḍikeya are the major Śākhās of the KYV. Below is given a brief description of the Śākhās.

1. The Caraka Śākhā.

As mentioned before Caraka was the name of Vaiśampāyana who was the first propagator of KYV. But a separate Śākhā is also attached to his name. There are various references to the Caraka Śākhā. But it is not certain whether all these references mention a particular Śākhā by the name of Caraka or all the Śākhās of this Veda are called by the name Caraka. Max Müller thinks that the general name of the ancient Śākhās of the KYV. was Caraka and Taittirīya. Therefore all the Śākhās of the KYV.

1. यजुर्वेदस्य षडशीतिर्भेदा भवन्ति । तत्र चरका नाम द्वादश भेदा भवन्ति । ...तत्र मैत्राणीयानां षड् भेदा भवन्ति । ...तत्र तैत्तिरीया नाम द्विभेदा भवन्ति । ... तत्र खाण्डिकेया नाम पञ्च भेदा भवन्ति ।

Caraṇavyūha, P. 31.
(Chaukhamba ed)

2. वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिनो नव ।

3. हौष्या धौष्या खण्डिका आह्वरका चरका मैत्रायणीया हारिद्रविणः शांलायनीयाः मर्चकठाः प्राच्यकठाः कपिष्ठलकठा उपला तैत्तिरीयाश्चेति ।

are called by a general name, Caraka Śākhā.[1] Uvaṭa, the commentator, in his Śukla Yajurveda-Bhāṣya (VII. 23 ; XXV, 27) quotes the verses from the Caraka-Saṁhitā. Similarly Kātyāyana in his Prātiśākhya refers to the *Sandhi*-rules of the Carakas. Sāyaṇa has mentioned a Caraka-Brāhmaṇa. In Viśvarūpa's commentary also a Caraka-Brāhmaṇa is mentioned. Kashmiri Pandits are followers of the Caraka Śākhā.

2. THE ĀHVARAKA ŚĀKHĀ.

The Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka mentions this school as a sub-division of the Carakas. Āhuraka and Hvaraka are the variants of this name. No text of this Śākhā is available. Only references to this Śākhā are available. Yādavaprakāśa has mention this Śākhā in his commentary on Piṅgalasūtra (III.15). Durga in his commentary on Nirukta (III.21) has referred to this Śākha. This name finds mention in Sarasvatī Kaṅṭhābharaṇa (I.4.189).

3. THE KAṬHA ŚĀKHĀ.

The Kaṭha or the Kāṭhaka Śākhā is one of the existing schools of the KYV. Patañjali testifies the wide popularity of this Śākhā. He says that the Kāṭhaka literature was read in every villages.[2] Pāṇini is also aware of this Śākhā.[3] Patañjali says that the Kaṭha literature is very vast.[4] In the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini the name Kaṭha occurs along with Kālāpa and Kauthuma.[5]

It is presumed that this Śākhā, was founded by sage Kaṭha. In the Mahābhārata an Ādya Kaṭha is mentioned among 16 Ṛtviks of King Uparicaravasu.[6] Kaṭha was present in the

1. History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit., P. 179.
2. ग्रामे ग्रामे काठकं कालापकं च श्रूयते ।
3. कठचरकाल्लुक् IV. 3. 107 ; देवसुम्नयोर्यजुषि काठके VII. 4.38
4. कठं महत् सुविहितम् ।
5. कठकालापाः कठकौथुमाः Kārtakaujapādi gaṇa (P. VI. 2. 37)
6. आद्यकठस्तैत्तिरिश्च वैशम्पायनपूर्वजः Mbh., Śāntiparvan 336.9.

court of Yudhiṣṭhira.[1] He was honoured and given gifts in the Rājasūya of Yudhiṣṭhira.[2] He came to see Pramad-varā who had died of snake bite.[3] The Kaṭhas and the Kalāpas were famous in the time of Rāmāyaṇa.[4] Here they are mentioned as respected by noble men. In the Mahābhāṣya, Patañjali has mentioned the women of the Kaṭhas.[5] In this connection Max Müller says "in the Vārtika to IV.1.63 women are mentioned as belonging to a Caraṇa; for Kaṭhī is the wife or daughter of a Brāhmaṇa who belongs to a Caraṇa or reads the Śākhās of the Kaṭhas".[6] The Kaṭha people were popular in ancient times.[7]

The Kaṭha literature—The Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā is available. It has five *Khaṇḍas* which are called *Iṭhimikā, Mādhyamikā, Oramikā, Yājyānuvākyā* and *Aśvamedhagrantha*. The *Sthānakas* are its subdivisions. The total number of the *Sthānakas* is 40, of the *anuvacanas* 13, of the Anuvākas 843 and of the Mantas 3093. The Kāṭhaka-Brāhmaṇa is not available in its entirety. Only fragments of it have been edited and published. The existence of a Kāṭhaka Āraṇyaka is also argued. It is probable that the Kaṭhas may also have had their parallel Āraṇyaka which contained kindred matter. The well-known Kaṭha-Upaniṣad belongs to this Śākhā. The Kāṭhaka Gṛhya-sūtra is available. This Gṛhya-sūtra bears different names i.e. Kāṭhaka-Gṛhya-sūtra, Caraka-Gṛhya-sūtra and Laugākṣi-Gṛhya-sūtra. It seems quite possible that because these names belong to the Caraka-group of the Yajurvedic schools and they have no separate Gṛhya-sūtras, so they called this Gṛhyasūtra by various names. Laugākṣi may be a follower of the Kaṭha school and he composed a Gṛhya-sūtra for the Kāṭhaka Śākhā. It is said that the word Laugākṣi is the Kashmirian form of Laukākṣi which is mentioned in

1. Sabhā, 4. 8.
2. Ibid, Southern reading after 45. 38.
3. Ādiparva, 8. 25.
4. Rāmāyaṇa, II. 32. 18.
5. Bhāṣya on IV. 3. 42.
6. H. A. S. L., p. 64.
7. Dr. Sūrya Kānta : Kāṭhaka-Saṁkalana, Intr., p. VII.

Kāśikā and Nyāsa.[1] Reference is made to Laukākṣi in the Vāyu Purāṇa (106.36). The other works of Laugākṣi are – (1) the Śrautasūtra of the Kaṭhas, (2) the Gṛhya Paddhati and (3) the Laugākṣi Smṛti. According to the Caraṇavyūha, the Kaṭha Śākhā had 40 or 44 *Upagranthas*[2]. But at present we have no knowledge of these *Upagranthas.*

The Kaṭha Śākhā was prevalent in wide area. The Caraṇavyūha while referring to the 44 *Upagranthas* of Kaṭhas, remarks that there is nothing which is not contained in the Kaṭha literature.[3] Thus, Kaṭha Śākhā has a unique place in the Vedic literature.

4. THE PRĀCYA KAṬHA ŚĀKHĀ

No text of this Śākhā is preserved. Most probably this Śākhā was a subdivision of the Kaṭha Śākhā and it had minor differences with the Kaṭhas. It seems that the followers of this Śākhā were the residents of the eastern part of the Kaṭha-region and were therefore called Prācya Kaṭhas.

5. THE KAPIṢṬHALA KAṬHA ŚĀKHĀ

Like Prācya Kaṭhas, the Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭhas were related to the Kaṭhas. Pāṇini has mentioned Kapiṣṭhala and Kāpiṣṭhali. Like many other Śākhās, the Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha Śākhā derived its name from the Ṛṣi who founded it. Pāṇini has referred to Kapiṣṭhala gotra.[4] It is probable that this Kapiṣṭhala gotra was named after the founder of this Śākhā. The currency of this Śākhā may be confirmed by the evidence of Durgācārya,[5] the commentator of Nirukta, who himself belonged to this Śākhā. The *Kambistholoi* of Megasthenese are identified with Kapiṣṭhalas.[6]

The original home of the Kapiṣṭhalas is traced by the word Kapiṣṭhala itself. According to Dr. Raghuvīra it points

1. Madhusudan Shastri Kaul : Laugākṣi Gṛhya-Sūtra, Intr., p. 6.
2. चत्वारिंशदुपग्रन्थाः । चतुश्चत्वारिंशदुपग्रन्था इति पाठान्तरम् ।
3. तन्नास्ति यन्न काठके ।
4. कापिष्ठलो गोत्रे VIII. 3. 91.
5. अहं च कापिष्ठलो वासिष्ठः Durgācārya on Nirukta.
6. Dr. Raghuvīra : Kapiṣthala Katha-Samhitā, Intr., p. 2.

to Kapiṣṭhala, the modern Kaithala, a town near Thanesar. It is situated in the sacred region of Kurukṣetra and according to local tradition it was founded by Yudhiṣṭhira.[1] The antiquity of the place is ascertained on the evidence of Varāhamihira who has mentioned it.[2] The Kāśikā, too, is aware of this name.

Only the *Saṁhitā* of this Śākhā is available and even that is not in its complete form. The text of the Saṁhitā is divided as follows:

Ist Aṣṭaka	Adhyāyas	1 to 8	
2nd ,,	,,	9 to 16	These Adhyāyas are not available
3rd ,,	,,	17 to 24	
4th ,,	,,	25 to 32	(32 not available.)
5th ,,	,,	33 to 40	
6th ,,	,,	41 to 48	(43 not available.)

Even the available chapters are not complete. They have numerous gaps here and there. A manuscript of the Gṛhya-sūtra of this Śākhā is said to be preserved in Sarasvatī Bhavana library of Sanskrit University, Varanasi.

6. The Cārāyaṇīya Śākhā

This Śākhā was founded by Cārāyaṇa. Reference has been made to Kambalacārāyaṇīyas in the Mahābhāṣya.[3] A Cārāyaṇīya Śikṣā is referred to by Kielhorn.[4] A Cārāyaṇīya Mantrādhyāya was published from Lahore by Pt. Bhagavaddatta. According to this Mantrādhyāya the Cārāyaṇīya Saṁhitā had some differences from the Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā. The Saṁhitā was divided into *Anuvākas* and *Sthānakas*.

7. The Vārāyaṇīya Śākhā

This Śākhā is mentioned in the Caraṇavyūha. No literature of this school is preserved.

1. Dr. Raghuvīra, op cit
2. औदुम्बर कपिष्ठल गजह्वयाश्चेति Bṛhatsaṁhitā, XIV. 4.
3. Bhāsya on Pāṇini IV. 1.73
4. Indian Antiquary, July 1876.

8. The Vārtantavīya Śākhā

It seems that this Śākhā was founded by Varatantu. Pāṇini has mentioned Varatantu[1] along with Tittiri, Ukha, and Khaṇḍika, all the founders of the Śākhās of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda. Kālidāsa has mentioned a Varatantu as the teacher of Kautsa. Patañjali has also referred to Varatantu.[2] His name occurs in the Śrāddha-prakaraṇa of Vīramitra.[3]

No literature of this Śākhā is available.

9. The Śvetāśvatara Śākhā

The variants of this name are Śvetāśvetatarāḥ, Śvetāśvetāntarāḥ and Śvetā-aśvatarāḥ. No information is available about Śvetāśvatara. Only the Upaniṣad of this Śākhā is available. The Śvetāśvatara Brāhmaṇa is referred to by Viśvarūpa in his commentary.

10. The Aupamanyava Śākhā

This Śākhā seems to be founded by Upamanyu. Reference has been made to Ācārya Upamanyu by Pāṇini.[4] This name is also referred to in the Ṛg-Vedānukramaṇī, Sāmavedānukramaṇī and Jaiminīya Gṛhyasūtra.[5] Yāska mentions Upamanyu as an author of Nirukta. The Bṛhad-devatā also mentions the name of Aupamanyava.[6] Here the name occurs along with Yāska. In the Brahmāṇḍa[7] and the Matsya[8] Purāṇas, Aupamanyavas are mentioned as belonging to Vasiṣṭha clan. The Vāyu-Purāṇa mentions[9] him as a Ṛtvik in the *Yajña* of Brahmā. An Aupa-

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1. तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् IV. 3.102.
2. Bhāṣya on IV. 2.66.
3. सव्याहृतिकां पठेत् इति वरतन्तुः Śrāddha Prakāśa
4. कुशिक-भरद्वाज-उपमन्यु-किलात-कन्दर्प Vidādigana.
5. Ṛgvedānukramaṇī 2.9.97; Sāmavedānukramaṇī 2.153; Jaiminīya Gṛhya Sutra 1.14.
6. यास्कौपमन्यवावेतान् आहतुः पञ्च वै जनान् । Bṛhaddevatā VII. 125.
7. Bḍ P., II. 8 98.
8. Matsya P., 200.11.
9. Vāyu P., 106 39. आत्रेयं चाप्यङ्गिरसमौपमन्युं महाव्रतम् ।

manyava is mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.[1] No literature of this Śākhā is available.

11. THE PĀTAṆḌANĪYA ŚĀKHĀ

This Śākhā is regarded as a subdivision of the Carakas. We have no knowledge about Pataṇḍi, the founder of this Śākhā. No literature of it is preserved.

(12) THE MAITRĀYAṆĪYa ŚĀKHĀ.

The Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā is one of the Subdivisions of the Carakas. Pāṇini has mentioned a Maitrāyaṇa[2]. According to the Harivaṁśa the Maitrāyaṇīya Śākhā was founded by Ṛṣi Mitrayu[3]. Śaunaka has mentioned this Śākhā in his Bṛhaddevatā[4]. The Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā is available. It is divided in the following manner :

1st kāṇḍa 11 Prapāṭhakas, 2nd kāṇḍa 13 prapāṭhakas, 3rd Kāṇḍa 16 Prapāṭhakas and 4th kāṇḍa 14 Prapāṭhakas.

A Maitrāyaṇīya Brāhmaṇa is noticed in the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (30.8). A Maitrāyaṇīyopaniṣad is available. Many Kalpasūtras are attached to this Śākhā. These Gṛhya works bear the names of Mānava, Varāha and Maitrāyaṇīya. The Mānavas and the Varāhas are the subdivisions of the Maitrāyaṇīyas.

According to the Mahārṇava the locality of the Maitrāyaṇīyas was between the Mayūra mountain and Gurjaradeśa[5]. At present the followers of this Śākhā reside in Saurāṣṭra and

1. प्राचीनशाल औपमन्यवः सत्ययज्ञः पौलुषिरिन्द्रद्युम्नः Ch up. V. 11.1.
2. ओष्ट्रायण-त्रैगर्तायन-मैत्रायण Arihaṇādigaṇa.
3. दिवोदासस्य दायादो ब्रह्मर्षिमित्रयुर्नृपः ।
मैत्रायणस्ततः सोमो मैत्रेयास्तु ततः स्मृताः ॥ Harivaṁśa 34 76
4. पशोः सारस्वतस्यैतां याज्या मैत्रायणीयके ।
प्राधान्याद्धविषः पश्यन् वच एवैतरोऽब्रवीत् ॥ Bṛhaddevatā II. 138
5. मयूराद्रिं समारभ्य यावद् गुर्जरदेशतः ।
व्याप्य वायव्यदेशं वै शाखा मैत्रायणी स्मृता ॥ Mahārṇava

Gujrat. They belong to the Modha caste[1]. Maitrayaṇīyas exist also in Nasik and Nagpur.

(13) THE MĀNAVA ŚĀKHĀ

It is a sub-division of the Maitrāyaṇīyas. Perhaps it consisted only of the Sūtra literature. Haradatta has clearly said in this commentary on the Hiraṇyakeśi-Sūtra that a new Śākhā was founded either on a Saṁhitā or a Sūtra. In the Matsya-Purāṇa, Mānava is regarded as a Pañcārṣeya[2]. The Mānava Śrauta and Gṛhya Sūtras are published.[2a] The Gṛhya Pariśiṣṭa and the Śulba Sūtras are also available. Here a question may be asked—is there any relation between the Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra and Manusmrti ? The answer is affirmative.[3]

(14) THE VARĀHA ŚĀKHĀ

The Varāha Śākhā is a Sūtra-Śākhā. A Varāha Ṛṣi was present in the Court of Yudhiṣṭhira.[4] Pāṇini has also mentioned Varāha.[5] The Vārāha Gṛhya and Śrauta Sūtras are available.[5a] Kumārila has referred to this Śākhā in his Tantra-Vārtika[6]. The Pariśiṣṭa and the two Gṛhya Paddhatis of this Śākhā are also available.

(15) DUNDUBHA ŚĀKHĀ.

It is a subdivision of the Maitrāyaṇīyas. We have no information about Dundubha, the founder of this Śākhā. No literature of this Śākhā is available.

(16) THE CHĀGALEYA ŚĀKHĀ.

Probably this Śākhā was founded by Chagala or Chāgaleya. Pāṇini has mentioned to Chagali[7]. No text of this Śākhā has survived.

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1. Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā (Aundha ed.) Intr. P. 21.
2. Matsya P. 196.50.
2a. Ed. by Knauer; 1900.
3. Mait. Saṁh. op. cit. Intr. P. 19.
4. Mh., Sabhāparvan.
5. कर्णसुतंगमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः Pāṇini IV. 2.82
   वराहपलाशशिरीष....Varāhādigaṇa.
5a. Edited by Dr. Raghuvira.
6. बौधायनीयवराहमशकादिप्रबन्धवत् Kumārila.
7. छगलिनो ढिनुक् IV. 3.109 ; See also Takṣaśilādigaṇa.

(17) THE HĀRIDRAVĪYA ŚĀKHĀ.

This Śākhā belongs to the group of the Maitrāyaṇīyas. The word Haridru is mentioned by Pāṇini in Gaṇapāṭha (*Kisarādiḥ*). The Brāhmaṇa of this Śākhā is mentioned by Sāyaṇa[1] and Yāska[2]. The Hāridravīya Gṛhya is referred to by Bhavatrāta in his commentary on the Kauṣītaki Gṛhya (1.20 6). The *Khilas* and the *Upakhilas* of this Śākhā are mentioned in the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (II. 36.75)[3] and the Vāyu-Purāṇa (61.65)[4]. Hence it may be safely presumed that this Śākhā possessed a separate *Saṁhitā*.

Subdivisions of the Hāridravīyas :—According to the various texts the Hāridravīyas branched off into five groups : Hāridrava, Āsura, Gārgya, Śarkarākṣya and Agrāvasīya. But we have no knowledge about the Śākhās other than the first.

(18) THE ŚYĀMĀYANA ŚĀKHĀ

In the Purāṇic list of the Śākhās of the KYV. Śyāmāyana is regarded as an *audīcya ācārya* : श्यामायनिरुदीच्यानां प्रधान: सम्बभूव ह (Vāyu 61.8 ; Bḍ I 35.12). According to the Purāṇas a Śyāmāyani belonged to Kauśika gotra[5] and was the chief author of the northern recension of the Yajurveda.[6] According to the Mahābhārata he belonged to the *gotra* of Viśvāmitra.[7]

No literature of this Śākhā is available.

(19) THE ŚYĀMA ŚĀKHĀ

Mahidāsa, the commentator of the Caraṇavyūha says that some people speak of seven subdivisions of the Maitrāyaṇīyas. They count the Śyāmaśākhā as the seventh. It is probable that this Śākhā was closely related to the Śyāmāyanīya Śākhā. No literature of this Śākhā is preserved.

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1. Sāyana, Ṛgvedābhāṣya on V. 40.8.
2. यदरोदीत् तद्रुद्रस्य रुद्रत्वमिति हारिद्रविणः (Nirukta 105.)
3. तथा हारिद्रवीयाणां खिलान्युपखिलानि च । (Bd. II. 35.75)
4. Vāyu 61.66.
5. Bḍ P. III. 66·72 ; Matsya 196·46.
6. Bḍ. II. 35.12 ; Vāyu 61.8.
7. Anuśāsanaparva 7.55.

(20) The Taittirīya Śākhā

This School was founded by Tittiri Ṛṣi. The name of Tittiri is mentioned by Pāṇini[1]. Patañjali too was acquainted with Tittiri and he has mentioned the Ślokas proclaimed by Tittiri[2]. The Matsya-Purāṇa regards him as a Tryārṣeya[3]. In the Mahābhārata he is mentioned as the elder brother of Vaiśampāyana[4]. He was present in the court of Yudhiṣṭhira. On these evidences we may easily conclude that this Tittiri was the founder of this Śākhā.

The Purāṇic references have made the story quite complex and create doubts regarding the existence of Tittiri. According to the Purāṇas the whole *KYV*. was called Taittirīya. Yājñavalkya vomited the *Yajus*-s taught by Vaiśampāyana and all these *Yajus*-s were collected by his other pupils. Since at the time of collecting these Yajus-s, the pupils took form of the bird *tittiri*, they were called as Taittirīyas.

In this connection Weber says 'I am more inclined to derive the name Taittirīya from variegated patridge (*tittiri*) than from the Ṛṣi Tittiri, just as another name of one of the principal schools of the Black Yajurveda, that of the Khāṇḍikeyas, probably owes its formation to this very fact of the Black Yajus being made of *Khaṇḍas*, fragments, although Pāṇini as in the case of the Taittiriyas traces it to a Ṛṣi of the name Khaṇḍika'[5]. But Weber's opinion seems erroneous. This Śākhā derives its name from the Ṛṣi in the same way as other Śākhās do. According to Max Müller Tittiri and Vājin were proper names. Tittiri was the pupil of Yāska[6]. Taittirīyas are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa[7].

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1. तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् IV. 2 102.
2. तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्ताः श्लोकाः Patañjali.
3. Matsya-Purāṇa, 196. 48, 49.
4. Śantiparvan 344.9.
5. Lectures on the History of Indian Literature, pp. 87-88.
6. History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 89.
7. सुहृन्मां परमा भक्त्या य उपास्ते सदैव सः ।
आचार्यस्तैत्तिरीयाणां तमानय यतव्रतम् ॥ II. 35.15.

The Mahārṇava locates the Taittirīyas in the southern part of the country[1]. On Epigraphic grounds Prof. L. Renou says that if the Taittirīyas did not originate in south, they were at least spread in that direction[2]. In this context he refers to Dr. W. Caland according to whom the original seat of the Taittirīyas was the same Kuru-Pañcāla which is probably the cradle of the whole *Ādhvaryava* tradition[3]. On these grounds we may conclude that this Śākhā originated in Kuru-Pañcāla country and expanded in the south.

The literature of the Taittirīyas :—The Saṁhitā of the Taittirīyas is available and the oldest commentary on it is that of Bhaṭṭabhāskara Miśra. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is the only available Brāhmaṇa of the KYV. The last portion (III. 10-12) of this Brāhmaṇa is regarded as *Kāṭhakabhāga* i. e. the Kāṭhaka portion. The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka has 10 *Prapāṭhakas*. The Taittiriyopaniṣad is a part of the Āraṇyaka. It begins from the seventh *Prapāṭhaka* and ends with the 9th.

(21) THE AUKHEYA ŚĀKHĀ

It is said to be a subdivision of the Taittirīyas. The origin is traced to Ukha or his son Aukheya. Pāṇini was aware of this school and its relation to the KYV. In the Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra (III.9.6) Ukha is remembered. Perhaps this Śākhā was a Sūtra Śākhā. Its relation to the Vaikhānasa Śākhā is clearly shown by Dr. Caland in his introduction to the Vaikhānasa sūtra.

22. THE KHĀṆḌIKEYA ŚĀKHĀ.

The school of the Khāṇḍikeyas belongs to the Taittirīya group. Pāṇini has mentioned this Śākhā. A Khāṇḍikeya Brāhmaṇa is referred to in the Bhāṣikasūtra (3.26). In the Caraṇavyūha of Śaunaka five subdivisions of the Khāṇḍikeyas are

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1. आन्ध्रादि दक्षिणाग्नेयी गोदा सागर आवधिः ।
   यजुर्वेदस्तु तैत्तिरं आपस्तंबी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥
2. Siddhabhāratī, p. 219.
3. ibid.

mentioned : Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Satyāṣāḍha, Hiraṇyakeśin and Aukheya or Audheya. Some times the name of Bharadvāja is also included in this list. We have already mentioned the Aukheyas.

23. THE ĀPASTAMBA ŚĀKHĀ.

Āpastamba occupies an important position in the ritual of the KYV. The Sūtras of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana were prescribed for all the Vedas and all the schools whereever and whenever necessary. Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa on the Nirṇaya-Sindhu has quoted many verses which prescribe the Āpastamba sūtra in the absence of one's own Sūtra.[1] But it is said that these two schools were not so popular in the Vedic age proper.[2] In all probablity this Śākhā always consisted of its *Kalpa* text. The whole Āpastambasūtra consists of 30 *Praśnas* in which 23 are Śrauta sūtras, 24th *Paribhāṣā* 25th and 26th collection of *Gṛhya* Verses, 27th Gṛhya Sūtra, 28, 29 Dharmasūtra and 30 Śulbasūtra.

24. THE BHARADVĀJA ŚĀKHĀ,

Only the Gṛhya Sūtra of this Śākhā is published and the Śrautasūtra is available in the MSS. In the Mahābhārata Bharadvāja is said to be the father of Dioṇācārya.[3] He is said to be one of the Saptarṣis.[4] In the Purāṇas also he is mentioned.

25. THE HIRAṆYAKEŚIN ŚĀKHĀ

The Śrauta and the Gṛhya Sūtras of this Śākhā are published. These Sūtras bear two names, viz. Satyāsāḍha and Hiraṇyakeśin. No other literature of this Śākhā is available.

26. THE BAUDHĀYANA ŚĀKHĀ

The Baudhāyana Kalpa Sūtra is published in its complete

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1. वैतानिकाग्निकार्यं यत् स्वशाखायां न विद्यते !
आपस्तम्बोदितं ग्राह्यं बह्वृचादिभिरादरात् ॥
बह्वृचः सामगश्चापि कुर्यादाध्वर्यवादिकम् ।
आपस्तम्बेन वा प्रोक्तं तथा बौधायनेन वा ॥
2. Kāthaka Saṁkalana, Intr. p. XXXIV.
3. Ādipavan, 129. 33-38
4. Ibid 122.51

form. This sūtra is regarded as the oldest sūtra of the KYV.[1] All these Sūtras are written in similar style.

27. The Satyāṣāḍha Śākhā

As already said, the Hiraṇyakeśin sūtras also bear the name of Satyāṣāḍha. It is probable that in ancient times both these Śākhās had some minor differences. Nothing is known about the founder of this Śākhā.

28. The Ātreya Śākhā

The name of this Śākhā is mentioned in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya. Moreover, reference has been made to this Śākhā in many Sūtras[2] No literature of this Śākhā is mentioned.[3]

These Śākhās are given in the Caraṇavyūha. Other treatises mention some other Śākhās which are not included in the list of the Caraṇavyūha. Such Śākhās are given below.

29. The Ālambi Śākhā.

According to the Purāṇas Ālambi was a student of Vaiśampāyana and a resident of the *Prācyadeśa*. Pāṇini has mentioned this name in the *gaṇapāṭha*.[4] In the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi Ālambi is regarded as a son of Alamba.[5] According to the Mahābhārata he was present in the court of Yudhiṣṭhira. Nothing is preserved of this Śākhā.

30. The Palaṅga Śākhā.

According to the texts this Śākhā was founded by Palaṅga. No literature of this Śākhā has survived.

31. The Kamala Śākhā.

We meet with the Kāmalāyaninaḥ in the Anugrāhika Sūtra (khaṇḍa 17). The Chāndogya Upaniṣad is aware of a Kāma-

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1. Max Müller, H.A.S.L. P. 99
2. Vādhūla Dharmasūtra 20.34.35 ; Āpastamba Dh. Sūtra I. 2. 48
3. For detail, See Max Müller HASL. P. 28, 114
4. आलम्बि-आलजि-आलब्धि Gaurādiḥ
5. अलम्बस्यापत्यमालम्बिः IV . 305

A Tumbaru Ṛṣi came to see Bhīṣma who was lying on the bed of arrows (Śāntiparvan, 47.8). Nothing is known about this Śākhā.

37. THE ULAPA ŚĀKHĀ

No literature of this Sākhā is available.

38. THE VAIKHĀNASA ŚĀKHĀ

This Śākhā is a Sūtra-Śākhā. The Vaikhānasa Śrauta Sūtra was edited and published by Dr. W. Caland.

39. THE VĀDHŪLA ŚĀKHĀ

This Śākhā is prevalent in South India. This Śākhā possesses its Sūtras. According to the commentary on this Sūtra the Vādhūla Śākhā was a major Śākhā from which four Śākhās branched off. They are:—Kauṇḍinya, Āgniveśya, Gālava and Śaṅkha.

40. THE ĀGNIVEŚYA ŚĀKHĀ

The commentator of the Vādhūla Śrauta Sutra has mentioned this Śākhā as a subdivision of the Vādhūlas. The founder of this Śakhā was Āgniveśya. Āgniveśya has been referred to in the Bṛahadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. (II. 6). In the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya too the name of Āgniveśya is mentioned (2.4) According to the Mahābhārata Droṇācarya got his military training in the *āśrama* of Agniveśya (I. 40-42). The *Kalpasūtra* of this Śākhā is available.[1] The followers of this school are found in South India.

41. THE KAUṆḌINYA ŚĀKHĀ

This Śākhā also was a sub-division of the Vādhūla Śākhā. According to the Mahābhārata Kuṇḍina was the Kingdom of Vidarbha country.[2] It may be probable that Kauṇḍinya the founder of this Śākhā had some relation with this Kuṇḍina city. A Kauṇḍinya is mentioned in the Gṛhya Sūtra of Baudhāyana. Mahādeva in his commentary on Satyāṣāḍha Sūtra cites the view of Kauṇḍinya.[3] No literature of this Śākhā is available.

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1. Edited by Dr. Ravi Varma, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 1940.
2. Mbh. III. Chs. 60, 73, 77; V (Udyogaparva) Ch. 150.
3. Ujjvalā ṭīkā on 27.4.24.

42. The Hārīta Śākhā

This Śākhā is mentioned in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya 14.18. The Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Vasiṣtha Dharma Sūtras are aware of this Śākhā and mention it. In the Mahābhārata Hārīta is said to be present in the court of Yudhiṣṭhira.[1] A Kūmāra Hārīta is referred to in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Up.[2] A Hārīta is also mentioned in the Vāyu-Purāṇa.[3]

43. The Aikeya Śākhā

This Śākhā is regarded as a subdivision of the Mānavas. No literature of this Śākhā is available.

Here forty-three Śākhās of the KYV. have been mentioned. Tradition speaks of eighty-six Śākhās of the Black Yajurveda. At present nothing can be said about the rest. Even about the authenticity of the 43 Śākhās noticed above, doubts may be raised. We have tried to assemble above the available textual references on these.

1. Sabhāparva.
3. Brhadāraṇyaka–up. 4.6.3.
3. कुमुथि वेदकौण्डिल्यं हारीतं काश्यपं कृपम् ॥ Vāyu 106.33 ed.

THE AŚVINS IN THE MATSYA AND AGNI PURĀṆS

BY

K. P JOG

[निबन्धेऽस्मिन् विदुषा लेखकेन मत्स्यपुराणस्य-अग्निपुराणस्य च आधारेण अश्विनोरुत्पत्तिस्वरूपयोर्विषये विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम् । इमौ वैदिकदेवौ पुराणेषु केन रूपेण गृहीतौ इत्यस्यापि तुलनात्मकं स्वरूपं निर्दिष्टम् । अश्विनोरुत्पत्तिः वडवारूपधारिण्याः सूर्यपत्न्याः संज्ञायाः नासिकातः जाता । पुराणेषु तौ देवौ सुरावित्युपाधिनाभिहितौ । देवासुरयुद्धे इन्द्रस्य सहायकावपि तौ वर्णितौ । तौ वैवस्वत-मन्वन्तरे सप्तदेवगणानामेकदेवगणस्य सदस्यौ कथितौ । विष्णोः नरसिंहावतारे नारसिंहस्य शरीरे नानादेवानां दर्शनं भवति तत्राश्विनावपि स्तः । इत्थं वामनशरीरेऽपि तयोर्दर्शनं भवति । त्रिपुरविषये तौ शिवस्याश्वानामभीषुरूपेण प्रदर्शितौ । एवं पुराणेषु तौ विभिन्न-विशेषणविशिष्टौ वर्तेते, यथा विचित्रकर्मिणौ चित्रयोधिनौ च । तौ पाण्डुपुत्रयोर्नकुलसहदेवयोः पितृरूपेण ख्यातौ । तयोः सम्बद्धानि नानाव्रतानि सन्ति, येषु 'लक्ष्मीपुरुषव्रतं' मुख्यम् । तीर्थेष्वपि अश्वि-तीर्थस्य सम्बन्धः अश्विभ्यां सह विद्यते । ग्रहशान्तौ अनयोः पूजनं भेषजप्रदानेऽनयोः स्मरणं च विहितं वर्तते । अन्ततः लेखकमहोदयेन प्रदर्शितं यत् वैदिकयुगे प्रख्यातानि तयोः कानिचित् कृत्यानि अत्र पुराणेषु विस्मृतानि, बहूनि च सुरक्षितानि वर्तन्ते । तयोः केषाञ्चिन्न-वीनगुणानामपि सत्ता पुराणेषु दृश्यते, येषां वेदेऽभावः । तद्यथा—अश्विनोः रथस्य निर्देशः वेदे प्राप्यते, न तु पुराणेषु, अश्विनोर्मधु-विद्याज्ञानं पुराणेषूपेक्षितं वर्तते । अनयोः देवकुमारयोः चिकित्सा-कौशलमपि पुराणेषु न तथा श्रूयते यथा वेदे । वेदे च अश्विनोः इन्द्रविष्णुवरुणमरुद्विश्वेदेवरुद्रादित्यैश्च सह सम्बन्धो वर्तते । पुराणेषु तयोः सम्बन्धः शिवेन, ध्रुवेण देवयान्या च वर्ण्यते । तथापि यथा पुराणेषु बहवो वैदिकदेवा उपेक्षिता वर्तन्ते, न तथाश्विनाविति लेखकमहोदयेनात्र निर्दिष्टम् ।]

The Aśvins have been always a riddle to the students of Indian Mythology. "They are among the most 'opaque' of all

the Ṛgvedic gods, in this respect being like Indra and Varuṇa"[1]. It may be, therefore, possible to understand better the Aśvin-concept in the light of such material as traces the evolution of the Aśvin-myth from the Pre-Vedic times to the Purāṇic[2]. The following is an attempt to trace the character of the Aśvins from two of the principal Purāṇas, the Matsya and the Agni[3].

1. The Divine Character of the Aśvins

(a) They are the sons of Vivasvat, the god Sūrya. While the M. gives a full account of their birth at 11.3 to 37, the A. only mentions at 273.4 that they were born to Sūrya of Saṁjñā[4]. The account given by the M. is thus: Saṁjñā, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ, was married to Sūrya. Being very much frightened by his brilliant lustre she sought refuge at her father's which he denied her in as much as she had left her husband's household without his permission. She, therefore, assumed the form of a mare and lived in the Marudeśa on the *Bhūtala*. Sūrya, who went in search of her, learnt from his father-in-law her whereabouts and also the reason why she had left him. Tvaṣṭṛ then reduced the lustre of Sūrya who afterwards changed himself into a horse and followed Saṁjñā. She did not recognise her husband and would not allow him mating. Through impatience he secreted his semen into her mouth which she in utter fear threw out through the nostrils; this was the birth of the Aśvins, the Dasras. It is interesting to note here that the M. further derives the name Nāsatyau by the comment *'saṁjātau Nāsatyau nāsikāgrataḥ'*.

(b) The epithets of the Aśvins, which these Purāṇas have mentioned, further tell us of their divine character. The A. mentions them as *surau* at 177.1 and the M. as *devau* at 188.5.

1. Griswold, The Religion of the Ṛgveda. p. 255.
2. cf. इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
3. References are to the editions of these Purāṇas published by the Ânandāśrama Sanskrit Series. M. for Matsya, A. for Agni. The numbers indicate the chapter and the verse (or verses).
4. संज्ञायां चाश्विनौ पुनः ।

(c) The birth of the Aśvins from the divine parents give them a place amongst the gods very naturally, but further their association with a number of gods on various occasions secures for them a position in their midst. The Aśvins are known as forming one of the seven *devagaṇas* of the Vaivasvata Manvantára (M. 9 21). That they have a place among the principal divinities is clear from M. 247.10. The M. 25.43 mentions them amongst those divinities who attend upon Devayāṇī owing to her father's great penances. The Aśvins are Indra's associates in his war against the demon Tāraka and when overwhelmed by the demon Kālanemi they seek refuge with Indra[5] (M. 148.86 and 97, 150.192-7 and 153.213) and also in the war with the demon Jambha (M. 153.25). The Aśvins actively participate in the great war fought between the gods and the demons in the age of Kṛta (M. 174.2). As associates of Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, and Sādhyas they enjoy a position of equality (A. 66.1). They appear in the Dwarf-Viṣṇu's body along with Vasus, Rudras and Maruts (M. 245.11). The favour of the Aśvins amongst other gods has to be invoked while a medicine is being administered to a patient (A. 280.13).[6] Worship is to be offered to the Aśvins also when one undertakes some *mantrakarma* (A. 293.32 and 34).[7] In the rite of *Aśvaśānti* the Aśvins have to be worshipped particularly with Varuṇa and also along with Brahman, Soma, Śaṅkara, Ādityas, the divine horse Ucaiḥśravas and the Dikpālas (A. 290. 487-8). In the Saṁdhyāvidhi one has to recite the well-known *Gāyatrī mantra* when names of a number of deities are to be uttered, the Aśvins' name being one of them. Such an utterance has the potency of destroying all sins (A. 215.18). The M. sings a panegyric of Dhruva and in course states that all the universe rests in him ; ye, even the gods, the Aśvins amongst them in his feet (M. 127. 23).[8]

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5. cf. The Vedic epithets of the Aśvins—Indravantā and Indratamā Rv. I.116.21 and 182.2 also Indranāsatyā Rv. VIII. 26.8.

6. The mantra means : may these gods offer their protection ; Brahman, Dakṣa, the Aśvins, Rudra, Indra, Candra, Arka, Anila and Anala.

7. The deities mentioned are : Dasra (misprint for Dasrau ?), Yama Anala...Pūṣan, the Aśvins & c.

8. अश्विनौ पूर्वपादयोः ।

(d) Gods Viṣṇu and Śiva assume in Purāṇic times most important positions, earlier powerful gods yielding place to them. Many a time do we find a reference that all the gods are contained and as such appear in the person of the Supreme god (for a time one of them). Thus in the body of the Man-Lion incarnation of Viṣṇu does Prahlāda see all the gods, the Aśvins among them (M. 245.11). Also at M. 246.56[9] the Aśvins are mentioned as ears of the Dwarf incarnation of the same god when he assumes the infinitely huge form. Also in connection with Nakṣatra-puruṣavrata the Aśvins are described as Viṣṇu's knees (M. 54.9). (see below IV. i and ii). In association with Śiva, they appear as the reigns of his chariot which was made up of all gods and brought him a victory in his much-sung fight with the demon Tripura (M. 188.5).[10] They are described as Śambhu's nails at M. 55.11 (see below IV. i and ii).

(e) The following throws further light on the divine character of Aśvins. They have like Vasus and Dhanada (i. e. Kubera) a *Loka*, i. e. an assembly of their own, it grants to human beings all their wishes. (M. 212.7).[11] They are the superintending deity of Aśvatīrtha (v. 1. Aśvitīrtha), a bath in which brings to one a beautiful form, charming appearance and all enjoyments (M. 194.3)[12]; thus it is declared by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to Yudhiṣṭhira.

II. OTHER ASPECTS OF THEIR CHARACTER

Some epithets of these two gods give us further information about them. They are held as wonder-workers since their Vedic epithet *dasrau* is retained (A. 293.32 and M. 11.37). They were known as physicians as we meet with the use of another Vedic epithet *bhiṣajyau* at M. 150.92 ff. The Aśvins appear as brave

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9. अश्विनौ श्रवणे तस्य ।

10. अभीषवोऽश्विनौ देवौ ।

11. वस्वश्विधनदाद्यानां ये लोकाः सर्वकामदाः ।

12. अश्व(श्वि)तीर्थं ततो गच्छेत्स्नानं तत्र समाचरेत् ।
सुभगो दर्शनीयश्च भोगवाञ्जायते नरः ॥

men knowing various ways of fighting (*citrayodhinau*). They posses many missiles and a brilliant armours. Both of them hurl a number of arrows at the demon Kālanemi with whom they fight being Indra's helpmates (M. 150.192-207). They have a hand in the killing of Tārakāsura (M. 153.213). They accompany Indra in his fight with this demon, taking with them their fourfold army (*Caturaṅgabalānvitau*, M. 148.86); they have on their banner an emblem of a pitcher studded with jewels (M. 148.97).[1]

III. The Aśvins in relation with human beings

We get from these Purāṇas very little information about the Aśvins' relation to human beings. We observe that these Purāṇas share with the Epics in holding these twin gods as progenitors of Nakula and Sahadeva, the twin Pāṇḍavas (M. 46.10 and 50.50, A. 13.10 and 23). As in the Mahābhārata so also in the M. 25.43 do we find these gods as subservient to Devayānī (as already mentioned). We have already noted that the Aśvins rest in Dhruva's feet (M. 127.23). No other contact of the Aśvins with the human beings is known to these Purāṇas.

IV. The Vratas, worship etc. connected with the Aśvins:

The Purāṇic religion lays stress on the various religious performances, vows etc. We find in these Purāṇas the following which are connected with the Aśvins:

(i) The M. describes a Nakṣatrapuruṣavrata in which the image of Vāsudeva (Nārāyaṇa) is to be worshipped. At 54.9 it states that a worship is to be offered to Vāsudeva's two knees when the Aśvikumāra-ṛkṣa is prevailing. This possibly suggests the worship of the Aśvins indirectly offered to them. Homage is to be paid to the deity with the words '*namo varadāya*'. (Can we connect this with the word *sarvakāmada*, already noted ?).*

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13. कुम्भेन रत्नचित्रेण केतुरश्विनयोरभूत् ।

* It should be noted that the Aśvins are taken to be the superintending deity of the nakṣatra.

(ii) The M. enjoins in ch. 55 a worship of Śambhu, and states that the nails of Śambhu are to be worshipped under the Aśvikumāra-nakṣatra. This is in all likelihood a worship to be offered to the Aśvins, though indirectly, inasmuch as the mantra to be uttered is *namaḥ saptāśvadhurandharāya.*

(iii) The M. lays down that the Aśvikumāras have to be invoked by *vyāhṛtis* while propitiating the graha i.e. in the *grahaśānti* to be performed by one desirous of glory and peace. The mantra to be recited on this occasion is '*eṣo uṣā apūrvyā*' (Rv. I. 46); the full hymn as an '*iti*' after it denotes the *pratīka*. A *samidh* is to be offered into the fire (M. 93. 16 and 48). along with it.

(iv) A bath in the Aśvitīrtha is advised in the M. 194.3 as we have seen before. This is in respect for the Aśvins and with a view to secure their favour.

(v) The M. 281.10 praises the making of a gift of a chariot and horses made of gold. This gift secures for the donor the favour of the Aśvins in this that they reside in the horses of his chariot and thus become its protectors.[14]

(vi) The A, also enjoins a sacrifice to the *grahas* for attaining glory (or wealth i.e. *Srī*), peace and victory etc. In course of it a worship is to be offered to the Aśvins as well as to many other deities (167.6).

(vii) The A. speaks of a number of *vratas* to be observed by the worshippers on different days of various months. In ch. 176 it lays down a *pratipadvrata* on the days of *Kārttika* and *Aśvayuj*. In ch. 177 it lays down the *dvitīyāvrata* and states that the Aśvins are the deity of it. This *vrata* secures for the worshipper all enjoyment, liberation etc (177.1) and a beautiful form, charming

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14. चक्ररक्षावुभौ तस्य तुरगस्थावथाश्विनौ ।

personality, heaven etc.[15] After this vrata mention is made of another *dvitīyāvrata* which is mentioned as *yamadvitīyā* i. e. Kārttika 2. This leaves no doubt that the vrata earlier referred to is to be observed particularly on the Āśvina 2. This vrata may be observed all through the year as 177.2 indicates.[16]

(viii) The Aśvins are invoked at the time of administering medicine to a patient which we have already noted (280.13).

(ix) At A. 269.21 the Aśvins are sought for protection at the time when a king's priest offers worship to a number of deities with a view to ensure for his master a victory, unchallenged royalty etc.[17]

(x) In the rite of *Aśvaśānti* that is enjoined by Śālihotra worship is to be offered to the horses along with the Aśvins,[18] particular attention is to be paid to the worship of the deities, the Aśvins and Varuṇa.[19] On this occasion some other gods also are worshipped.[20] (we have already noted this).

(xi) The Aśvins are to be worshipped in the rite of *Gajaśānti* also (A. 291.8).

V. The Aśvins in the Vedic and the Purāṇic Times

From the above it may be seen that the Purāṇic writers have retained the following of the Aśvin's epithets; *dasrau, nāsatyau, devau* and *Bhiṣajyau*. They describe them as *citrayodhinau* which is perhaps an echo of the Vedic epithets *rathyā, vīrā* and *narā*. The appearance of the Aśvins in Viṣṇu's persons can be

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15. पुष्पाहारो द्वितीयायामश्विनौ पूजयेत्सुरौ ।
16. अब्दं स्वरूपसौभाग्यं स्वर्गभाग्जायते व्रती ।
17. यजेदश्वांश्च साश्विनान् ।
18. अश्विनौ सह गन्धर्वैः पान्तु त्वां सर्वतो दिशः ।
19. विशेषेण नासत्यौ वरुणं यजेत् ।
20. तिलाक्षताज्यसिद्धार्थान् हुवेद् देवान्... ।

traced back to the Vedic epithet of them *Viṣṇuvanta* (Rv. VIII. 35.14).[21] The chariot of the Aśvins, so many times invoked by the Vedic seers, does not find a mention in these Purāṇas. Only distantly related to a chariot have we seen them in the M. 281.10 (f.n.14). The Aśvin's knowledge of *Madhuvidyā*, their connection with sacrifice has been more or less neglected. Somehow their connection with the horses is yet retained. Except in one place (A. 280.13) we do not find a mention of any of their medical and surgical achievements known in the Vedic times. The Aśvins' protegees and miraculous deeds have all been shed off. Their relation with Indra, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa, Maruts, Viśvedevāḥ, Rudras and Ādityas date back to the Vedic times. Their relation to god Śiva, their connection with Dhruva and Devayāni are purely of Purāṇic origin. Their position as subordinates to Indra dates back to the Vedic times but that to Śiva and Viṣṇu is of Purāṇic origin. The gift of beautiful form and happiness and their beauty date back to the Vedic times. cf. *Śubhaspatī*, *Mayo bhuvā valgū* etc. In fine we can say that the Aśvins, who were in the Vedic times divinities of importance next only to Indra, Agni and Soma, have not been altogether forgotten like Ṛbhus & c. by the writers of these Purāṇas.

21. Note similarly मित्रावरुणवन्ता, मरुत्वन्ता, मरुत्तमा ।

THE BHŪMI-KHAṆḌA IN THE BENGAL RECENSION OF THE PADMA-PURĀṆA—A CRITICAL SURVEY

By

Ashoke Chatterjee

[पद्मपुराणीयभूमिखण्डस्य वङ्गीयहस्तलेखानां पाठः मुद्रितदेवनागरीपाठात् भिद्यते। लेखेऽस्मिन् विदुषा लेखकेन भूमिखण्डस्य वङ्गीयहस्तलेखानां पाठैः सह देवनागरीमुद्रितपाठस्य तुलनां विधाय वङ्गीयपाठस्य प्राचीनत्वं निदर्शितम्। भूमिखण्डस्य नाम्ना इदं स्पष्टमनुमीयते यदयं भागो मूलतः भौगोलिकविषयवर्णनात्मक आसीत्। किन्तु सम्प्रति न तु केवलं मुद्रितदेवनागरीभूमिखण्डे, अपि तु वङ्गीयहस्तलेखीयभूमिखण्डेऽपि भौगोलिकविषयाणामभावो दृश्यते। किन्तु वङ्गीयहस्तलेखानामध्ययनमिदं स्पष्टीकरोति यत् वङ्गीयपाठः केषाञ्चिन्नवीनांशानां सद्भावेऽपि प्राचीनतरोऽस्ति। वङ्गीयपाठस्य प्राचीनत्वं प्रतिपाद्य लेखकेन तस्य कालनिर्धारणेऽपि प्रयासः कृतः। लेखकमहोदयस्य मतानुसारेण अस्य ग्रन्थस्य रचना तस्मिन् समये अभूद् यदा वङ्गीयदेशे बौद्धजैनशैवादिधर्माणां व्यापकप्रचार आसीत्। पुनश्च वैदिकधर्मस्य पुनरुत्थानाय प्रयासोऽपि तदैव जातः। आसां प्रवृत्तीनां दर्शनं वङ्गीयहस्तलेखानां भूमिखण्डे भवति। आसां प्रवृत्तीनां विस्तृतं विवेचनं विधाय तासां कालनिर्धारणमपि लेखकमहोदयेन कृतम्।]

The Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa of the Padma-p.[1] differs in a considerable way from its Devanāgarī counterpart.

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1. We have examined five manuscripts of the Bengal text of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa. These are :—A. no. 4517; B.no. 4493; C.no. 4423, D no. 756 and E which is not numbered. 'E' belonging to the National Library, Calcutta contains 133 chapters in 213 folios. (the number of the last folio is given as 113 through mistake. The mistake begins from 121 where instead of 121 only 21 has been written). The first three belong to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, while the fourth one (D) belongs to the Vangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. We have mainly followed A and except where there is no special mention the references have been given from A.

   We have also studied a fragment of the manuscript of the Bhūmi khaṇḍa, in possession of Dr. J. B. Chaudhury, Secretary Vangīya

But this too in its present form cannot be said to contain the earliest version of it. It is known that the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa in its earlier form dealt with Geography,[2] especially the terrestrial part of it. But curiously enough this is conspicuous by its absence in the Bengal recension also. In view of this, it will not be unwise to presume that a considerable portion of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension must have been lost. Still it is difficult to deny that the Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, even in its present form, is much earlier than its Devanāgarī counterpart, as all the Bengal manuscripts of the Bhūmi·khaṇḍa retain Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana, who, as we will see, form an earlier set of interlocutors.[3]

Saṃskṛta Śikṣā Pariṣad (no. 1515 of his manuscript-list). It consists only of a few folios, beginning from f. 4a and ending in f. 22. Thus it begins with the last part of Ch. II of the printed edition (2.13b). The last portion tallies with 11.39a and for the verse 39b of the same chapter it reads, "dravy-āpaharo'pi pitā pūrvam adyaiva tasya ca', then comes 'piśācatvaṁ mayā dattam asyaiva hi durātmanaḥ' (fol. 41-b) and the last words are "dravyāharaṇenāpi".

2. This is corroborrated by the evidence of the Bengal Mss. of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa which say :—

   'bhūgola-varṇanaṃ paścāt bhūmi-khaṇḍam idam smṛtam'

   (f. 223b of A, f. 238a of C and f. 234b of D. It is to be noted that B does not contain these verses) last of all comes the "description of the terrestrial geography and it has been named Bhūmi-khaṇḍa."

3. See f. 238a of C, f. 234b of D.

   We will presently show how Śesa and Vātsyāyana constituted the earlier set of interlocutors of the Padma-p. Here. The description of bhūmi-saṃsthāna begins from f. 208a and Vyāsa there says that those topics were previously narrated by Śesa to Vātsyāyana (munir-vātsyāyanah śesaṃ purā papraccha sūtaja, f. 208a). In another place Vātsyāyana says 'O, holder of the earth, i.e. Śesa, be pleased to tell us how much the area of this earth is, how many the heavens are and what the nether-regions, i.e. pātālas, are (kiyat pramāṇaṃ bhūkhaṇḍaṃ svargāśca kati bhūdhara/pātālāni ca kānīha kṛpayā tad vadasva naḥ f. 208b). Moreover, the story relating how Vāsuki and other nāgas requested the sage Vātsyāyana to give a description of the earth as he had himself heard from Śesa (who has been identified with Sankarsaṇa of Vyūha doctrine as given in f. 208.) points to the fact that Śesa was the original speaker. It is needless to multiply examples.

From a thorough study of the manuscripts of the Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa of the Padma-p. one feels inclined to conclude that some of their portions are entirely new and do not in any way correspond to the Devanāgarī recension. It may be said for example that all the printed texts of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa i. e. Devanāgarī recension, end with the Horse-sacrifice of King Vena, his attainment of heaven, and administration of the world (which was his empire) by his pious son Pṛthu. But the Bengal Mss. do not end in a similar way. There it is said :—

"tata(ḥ) sthāvara-tīrthāni kīrtitāni hyanekaśaḥ/
bhārgaveṇ-ātha rāmeṇa niḥkṣatrī-karaṇaṃ bhuvaḥ//[4]
vāsuker yajña-santāne śeṣa-darśanam antataḥ/
vātsyāyanena saṃvāda(ḥ) śeṣaṣya parikīrtitaḥ//
bhūgola-varṇanaṃ paścāt bhūmi-khaṇḍam-idaṃ smṛtam/

4. The Paraśurāma episode has been dealt with in C. from f. 203a-204a. But it has been introduced in a very unnatural manner. The story is much shorter than in A and it is clear that some verses from it seem to be missing, for it begins abruptly unlike a well connected story. It begins with the stealing away of the Kāmadhenu (Homa-dhenu) from the hermitage. The beginning is as follows :

"Viṣṇur-varāha-rūpeṇa purā yatra sthito'bhavat /
tatra snātvā mahābhāgas tv-agniṣṭoma-phalaṃ labhet //
samudra-mada-sanmatto nadyānandadathārcaṇam /
pramathya cāśramāt-tasmād-dhomadhenos-tato balāt //
jahāra vata samkrośanta babhañja mahādrumān /
sno (sā)gatāya ca rāmāya tadā** pitā svayam // (It is full of mistake)
gāṁ-ca rorudatīm dṛṣṭvā kopo rāmam(h)m(s) a-mā-viśat / cf.f.203a

But other manuscripts deal with the same episode in quite an elaborate manner. In D it has begun from f. 208b and continues upto f. 211a. The corresponding lines of D may be quoted.

"sayuddha mada-sanma to nabhy-anandad-athārcanam /
juhāva(A reads jahāra) vatsam krośantyā babhañja ca
mahādrumān //
āgatāya ca rāmāya tadā cāṣta pitā svayam / etc.

A comparison between these two groups of verses reveal how full of mistakes the manuscript C is and hence no weight should be given to it as regards this Paraśurāma episode.

It appears that 58 verses are missing from B in its story of Paraśurāma.

Afterwords many immovable sacred places have been highly spoken of ; (and it is also related) how, Paraśurāma, the decendant of Bhṛgu annihilated the race of all Kṣattriya kings (the line Vāsuke etc. being not clear). The talk between Śeṣa and Vātsyāyana has been set forth followed by the description of the terrestrial geography. It is named Bhūmi-khaṇḍa.[5]

5. A, f 223b ; C. f. 238a ; D.f. 234b. B does not possess these verses. It may be noted that all the Bengal Mss. except B end with a running brief summary of the whole of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa. B ends with the following verse:

'prathamam sṛṣṭikhaṇḍam hi dvitīyam bhūmi-khandakam /
gopradāna-sahasrasya phalam prāpnoti mānavah //
iti śrīpadmapurāne bhūmikhande padma-purāṇaṃ samāptam.(f.1.3a).

All the other three manuscripts have another chapter more, after this and D names its last chapter as 'anukrama-varṇana' while in C the last chapter is named as 'purāṇa-mahimā varṇanā'. It is evident that the end of B is rather abrupt and although it promises to state sthāvara tīrthas i.e. immovable sacred places, no such befitting description is found. Let us put it in details. It omits verses 14b-25a of ch. 123 (of the printed edition). Chapter 124 (of the Pr.ed.) has not been made a separate one in the manuscript. Verses 26-44a of ch. 124 are not found in it and instead of these verses the following verses are found.

"kva gato deva deveśa iti cintya muhur-muhuh
etat-te sarvamākhyātaṃ Jangamam tīrtham uttamam
sthāvaraṃ te pravaksyāmi śṛṇusv-ekamanā nṛpah
vaśiṣthasya dilīpasya samvādo' bhavat purā

But the glorification of the immovable sacred places, a mention of which has been made in the conversation between Vaśistha and Dilīpa, and to which the king is requested to pay a careful attention is missing in the manuscript.

It is to be noted that C has an interesting finishing. Verses from 21b-36b of ch.125 (of the Pr. ed.) do not occur in this manuscript. Instead of these the following verses occur :—

kalau yuge gatāsargaṃ savedāḥ sānga-sasvarāḥ
yah ko'pi sattvam āpannaḥ śrutvā sambhāva tatparaḥ
śrotum-icchati dharmātmā saputro bhāryyayā saha
śravaṇe ca mahāśraddhā pūrvam tasya prajāyate
śrāvyamāṇasya tasyāpi mahāvighnaś-ca saṃcaret f. 233b.

The manuscript reads 42 42a of the same chapter of the ed. dvātriṃśati sahasrāṇāṃ (f.233b) instead of 'dvāviṃśati sahasrāṇām' as found in the Pr. ed.

It is interesting to note that the lines

'tṛtīyaṃ svarga-khaṇḍaṃ-ca pātālaṃ tu caturthakam//
Pañcamaṃ cottaraṃ khaṇḍaṃ sarva-pāpa-praṇāśanam /
(ch. 125 vs. 48b-49a)

are not found in any of the Bengal mss. of the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, proving thereby the ignorance of these people about the three latter khaṇḍas of the *Padma-p* . They, however, were unanimous in placing the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa as the opening one of the Padma-p. as they possessed the verse 48a ('prathamaṃ sṛṣṭi khaṇḍaṃ hi bhūmi-khaṇḍaṁ dvitīyakam') of the same chapter of the printed edition.

The peculiar feature of the Bengal manuscripts is that they distinguish between two kinds of tīrthas[6] of which the first they call 'Jaṅgama tīrtha' while the other is 'sthāvara-tīrtha.' Father, mother, spiritual preceptor and even the son also have been regarded as tīrthas and highest respect has been attributed to them. They are not immovable beings. They can go and walk hither and thither. So they are termed as 'jaṅgama tīrtha.' A father whenever he lives is always an abode of sanctity to his children. Thus it is obvious that a particular 'jaṅgama tīrtha' is perishable

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After 42b of the Pr. ed. the manuscript has three additional lines which are most natural and these might have been retained from the earlier one. These are as follows :—

'tato pariśeṣat tu bhagavān' Vādarāyaṇah /
ślokānāṃ pañca-pañcāśat sahasrāṇi dayāparaḥ //
pūrayāmāsa lokānām hitāya paramārthataḥ / (f. 233b)

It contains the verse 48a of the last chapter of the Pr. ed. (see f. 234a) but it does not contain references to the other three khaṇḍas of the *Padma-P*. Then it goes on in some verses (fourteen in number) describing the glorifications of Viṣṇu which have been introduced rather untimely. It prescribes Homa to Vighneśa, Śāradā, Sureśvarī, Jātavedo, Mahāmāyā, Caṇḍi (ī) śa, and Kṣetra-nāyikā with tila and taṇḍula and one dogdhikā-gābhī should be contributed as dakṣiṇā.

6. cf.

'etad vaḥ sarvam-ākhyātam jaṅgamām tīrtham uttamam /
sthāvarantu pravakṣyāmi śṛṇudhvam pāpanāśanam //'
A.f. 192b, D.f 204b

in the ordinary sense of the term. But the 'Sthāvara tīrthas' are imperishable. These cannot move from one place to another. Thus by the term 'Sthāvara tīrtha' the permanent and important sacred places of the earth are meant.

The enumeration of such tīrthas, contained in the manuscripts of Bengal, is as follows :

First of all comes Puṣkara. Then Gu(a)ṇḍuni-kāśrama, lake of Agastya, the hermitage of Kaṇva, Mahākāla, Koṭitīrtha Bhadravaṭa, the river Narmadā, the Dakṣiṇa Sindhu(?), the river Charmaṇvatī, the (mountain) Arbuda, the hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha, Prabhāsa, the confluence of the river Sarasvatī and the Sea, the Varadāna where Viṣṇu was granted boon by the Durvāsas, Dvārāvatī, the confluence of the river Sindhu and the sea, Drimī, Vasudhārā, Sindhuttama (what is exactly meant by it is not known. Is the reading Sindhūttama ?), Damāvi-Kānām(?), Pañcanada, the abode of Bhīma, Girikuñja, Vimala, Vitasta in Kashmir (it was the abode of Takṣaka, the famous serpent), C(ch) a masarām, Maṇimanta, Devikā, Kāmākhyā (it is interesting to note that Kāmākhyā which is no other than Kāmākhyā of the present day, has been regarded as a place associated with the glorifications of Rudra. Reference to Śakti-worship is wanting there), Dīrghasatra where Brahmā and other gods performed the sacrifice, Vinaśana where Sarasvatī flows being unseen over the surface of Meru ('antarhitā merupṛṣṭhe yatra yāti sarasvatī), Camasabheda and Nagodbheda, Śaśapānam, Kumāra-koṭi, Rudrakoṭi, the confluence of the river Sarasvatī, Kurukṣetra, Viṣṇusthāna, Pariplava, Śalūkenī, Sarpirdaivvī, Pañcanada(?) Aśvatīrtha, Varāhatīrtha, Somatīrtha, Hṛtaśauca, Muñjavata, Rāmahrada,[7] Lokoddhāra, Kapilatīrtha, Sūryatīrtha, Śai chinitīrtha(?) Brahmāvarta, Kāśīśvaratīrtha, Sītāvanam, the river Āpagā, Saptarṣikuṇḍa, Kedāra, Saraka, Ilāspada, Anājanmā, the river Vaitaraṇī, Phalakī, Miśraka, Madhuvatī, Kaiśika saṃgama, Vedi-

7. It is in course of the glorification of the Rāmahrada that the story of 'niḥksatrīkaraṇa' by Rāma has been dealt with. There Vyāsa is said to have described the heroic achievements of Paraśurāma. See. 133 of Ms. A. f. 196b-198a, see also f. n. 4 above.

tīrtha, Vāmanaka, Śrīda(Ku)ñja, Naimiṣakuñja, Kanyātīrtha, Saptasārasvatatīrtha, Auśanaka, Kapālamocana, Agnitīrtha, Pṛthūdaka, Madhuśravā, Avakarṇa, Śraka, Sahasraka, Reṇuka(ā) tīrtha, Pañcavaṭa, Taijasa, Kurutīrtha, Svargadvāra, Narakam, Asthipura, Badaripāṭala, Adityāśrama, Kanyāśrama, Dadhīcitīrtha, Dharmatīrtha, Sogarṇika foiest, Rājagṛha (famous by the name Śākambhari) where Viṣṇu worshipped Rudra for the latter's favour,[8] Dhūmāvatī, Dhārā, Kanakhala, Kapilāvaṭa, Nāgatīrtha, Lalitikām, Sugandha, Rudravartta, the lake Bhadrakarṇaṭa, Kubjāmraka, Arundhativata(ta). Brahmāvarta, Darvvīsaṃkramaṇam, Ṛṣikulya, Kuṇḍikā, Vidyātīrtha, Sundarikātīrtha, Bāhudā, Sarayū, Rāmatīrtha—situated on the banks of the Gomatī, Rājagṛha, Maṇināga, hermitage of Gotama, Vivasanatapovana, the rivers Kalpanā and Viśalyā which are the dwelling places of Nārāyaṇa Himself, who always remains there near at hand and where Brahmā and other gods, the sages, the ascetics, the Ādityas, the Vasus and the Rudras worship Janārdana,[9] Jātismaratīrtha, Vāleśvarapura, the river Rauśikī, Campakāraṇya, the abode of Mitra and Varuṇa, Niścivan(?), the lake of Kauśika, Agnidhārā, Gaurīśikhara, Tāmrāruṇa, Nandinī, Kālikāsaṃgama, Urvaśītīrtha, Saumāśrama, Kumbhakarṇāśrama, Kokāmukha, Ṛṣabha-island, Auddha(jñā ?) naka, Brahmatīrtha, Campā, Daṇḍārpaṇa, Navetikā, Vindhyatīrtha, Lauhitya, Karatoyā, Kośala, Kālatīrtha, Vaitaraṇi, Viraja, the confluence of the rivers Śoṇa and Narmadā, Ṛṣabha, Puṣpāvatī, Vadarikā, Mahendra mountain, Rāmatīrtha(?). Śrī monntain, Devahrada, Ṛṣabha mountain, Kāverī, Kanyātīrtha on the shore of the sea, Gokarṇa[10], Vena Godāvarī, Medhāvika, Kālañjara, Trikūṭa, Manda(ā?)kinī, Bhartṛsthāna, Śṛṅgaverapura,

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8. cf. 'yatra viṣṇuḥ prasādārthaṃ rudram-ārādhayat purā' f. 201b.

9. 'tato vrajeta dharmajña sthānaṃ nārāyaṇasya tu /
sadā sannihito yatra harir-vasati sūtaka //
yatra brahmādayo devā ṛṣayaśca tapodhanāḥ /
ādityā vasavo rudrā janārdanam upāsate' // f. 203b.

10. See i. e. f. 205b.
'athagokarṇam-āsādya triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam /
samudramadhye dharmajña sarvaloka-namas-kṛtam //

Muñjavaṭa(?), Prayāga, Bhogavatī, Hamsaprapātanam, Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāñcī, Kāśī, Avanti and Dvārāvati.[11]

Let us now focuss our attention on determining the date of this Khaṇḍa. On scrutiny we find that in the manuscript an attempt has been made not even to recognise Buddhadeva as an incarnation or God-head, what to speak of eulogising him. In all the printed editions there is a verse where Buddha has been deified and highly spoken of.[12] But in all the manuscripts it is conspicuous by absence. Again, on an examination of these manuscripts we find that there is an all out effort to wipe out the influence of Jainism also. In Ch. 36 of the printed editions we see that a follower of Jaina faith[13] comes to the court of Vena and preaches his own religion denounching all other which includes Vaiṣṇavism also. But in Bengal manuscripts such denouncement of Kṛṣṇa worship and adherence to Vaiṣṇavism is also conspicuous by its absence. Thus some verses glorifying Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa (they have been taken as one ; no difference being made between the two) which are not found in the printed editions i. e. Devanāgarī recension find place in the Bengal Mss. There are quite a good number of such verses and we mention below a few of them :

Vāsudev-ābhidhānaṃ hı sarvāśraya-pradāyakam /
evaṃ stotraṃ mahāpuṇyaṃ vāsudev-ākhyam uttamam //

In Ch. 36, 14b, the Bengal Mss read 'buddhirūpam' instead of 'Jinarūpam'. In the same chapter it is written 'having spoken ill of other religions,[14] but according to the Bengal recension the reading is 'having thought of other religions'.[15] Thus the trace of blaming other religions (Vaiṣṇavism also is included among the

11. The identification of most of these places is well known and needs no further comment. But, however, there are some whose identification has not yet been made. These names, it may be mentioned' may not have been put correctly due to scribe's mistake.

12. hutāya hutabhoktre ca havirūpāya te namaḥ
buddhāya buddharupāya sadbuddhāya te namaḥ
Bhūmi-khaṇḍa 31-43.

13. For a description of that follower see Ch. 46. V.S.S. 4-6.

14. Vindhyan dharmaṃ sakalam 36-59a

15. vicintya dharmaṃ sakalaṃ.

other religions as the speaker was a follower of Jainism) has been wiped out. It is needless to multiply such examples.

This tends to prove that the Ms. was written during a period when there was a flow of different sectarian waves which built and modified the society in Bengal and at the same time there was a tremendous upsurge of the Vedic and Brahmanic *dharma* the followers of which wanted to protect the society from the heretic belief. A detailed discussion is, we believe, necessary in this respect.

The fact cannot be denied that the society of Bengal during the 5th, 6th and 7th centuries was in the firm grip of different sects and sectaries of which mention may be made of Pāśupata Śaivism, Jainism and Buddhism. Let us take up the existence and supremacy of those sects and sectaries one by one.

The Mathura Pillar inscription of Candragupta points out the fact that the *liṅgas* of Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara were erected by Uditācārya, descendant of Jysuja[16] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar writes: 'Upamita and Kapila being descendants of Kuśika must have been experts in Pāśupata yoga.[17] From Yuan Chwang's travels we come to know that Sasanka, King of Bengal was an ardent follower of Śaivim. The learned chinese traveller relates the abortive attempt of king Sasanka to have the image of Buddha sitting under the Bodhi tree removed and replaced by one of Śiva.[18] Moreover, Sasanka's coins as preserved in the library of the British Museum have on one side Śiva nimbate reclining on Bull (Nandī) with hand uplifted holding uncertain object.[19] Thus it is obvious that Sasanka belonged to Śaiva sect. Bhāskaravarman, his contemporary King of Kāmarūpa was also a staunch

16. 'kuśikād-daśamena.........āryy-oditācāryyeṇa sva-puṇy-apayana-nimittaṁ guruṇaṁ ca kīrtyartham-upamiteśvar-kapileśvarau pratisthāpito (?au) naitat khyātyartham-abhilikhyate atha māheśvarāṇām vijñāptiḥ kriyate Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, pp. 8-9

17. Ep. Ind., vol. XXI, p. 7.

18. Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, Vol. II, p. 116.

19. Allan, Catalogue of the coins

supporter of Śaivism. The Nidhanpur copper plate of Bhāskaravarman begins with a salutation to Śiva.[20] There is another piece of evidence to prove Bhāskaravarman's adherence to Śaivism. In Bāṇabhaṭṭa's Harṣacarita there is explicit mention of his loyality and attachment to Śiva's feet and none other.[21] Thus it is obvious that there was the prevalence of Śaivism in Bengal in 6th and 7th Centuries A.D. From the evidence of the Bhagalpur Copper Plate of Nārāyaṇapāla it is hard to avoid the conclusion that this Śaivism of Bengal was of the Pāśupata sect. The following lines from that plate are quoted below in support of our contention :—

Mahārājādhirāja Śrīnārāyaṇapāladevena svayaṁ kārita-sahasrayatnasya tatra pratiṣṭhāpitasya bhagavataḥ śivabhaṭṭārakasya pāśupat ācāryya pariṣadaśca. Yathārhaṁ pūjā-bali-caru-satra-nava-karmādyarthaṁ śayanāśana-glana-pratyaya-bhaiṣajya-pariskaradārtham-bhagavantam śivabhaṭṭārakam-uddiśya-sasanikṛtya pradattaḥ.[22]

It is also known that Mahārāja Vainya gupta is represented as an ardent devotee of Mahādeva (*Mahādeva-padānudhyāta*) in Gunaighar grant.[23]

. Along with this Pāśupata Śaivism, Jainism also rose to a height of prominence. It would not be judicious to deny that from a comparatively early period, Jainism took a strong hold in Bengal. The Paharpur Copper-plate grant of the Gupta era 159 (478-79 A.D.) deserves consideration in this connexion. According

20. Oṁ praṇamya devaṁ śaśiśekharam priyam
pinākinam bhasmakanair-vibhūsitam
bibhūtaye bhūtimataṁ dvijanmanam /
karomi bhūyaḥ sphutavācam-ujjvalam //
and
bhogīśvara-krta parikaram-īksaṇa jitakāmarūpam-avimuktam
parameśvarasya-rūpam nijabhūti bibhūsitam jayati

21. See my paper 'The Dharma-purāna as a part of kāmarūpa-sanavali, p. 11
the Padma-Purāṇa srṣti-khaṇda, Our Heritage, vol. 2. pt. 2

22. Ind. Ant. Vol. XV p. 304

23. I.H.Q., Vol. VI, p. 55

to its editor K. N. Diksit 'the grant......records that a Brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited 3 dinaras...... for the maintainance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc. of the divine arhats at the Vihāra of Vata-Gohali which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nigrantha preceptor Guhanandina, belonging to the Paṇa-stūpa section (Nikya) of Benares.'[24] Yuan Chwang while travelling through Puṇḍra-vardhana has remarked that 'the followers of the various sects lived pell-mell, the Digamvara Nigranthas being very numerous.[25] While the learned traveller was travelling in Samatata, he says that 'the various sects lived pell-mell and the digambara Nigranthas were very numerous.'[26] There is no doubt in the fact that Nigrantha was the earlier name of Jainism and the Jainas were formerly known as Nirgranthas.[27] Thus, we find, that in 6th and 7th centuries along with Pāśupata Śaivism, there was a strong hold of Jainism in the society of of Bengal also.

It is also well-known that the law of Buddha was flourishing in Bengal from a comparatively early period. Fa-Hien travelled through India at the beginning of the 5th Century A. D. He had seen a number of monasteries, stūpas in Bengal. According to Yuan-Chwang, Buddhist monasteries belonging both to Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sects abounded in Bengal. From It-sing's travels we also come to know of the prevalance of Buddhism in Bengal. Different schools of Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna, Sarvāstivāda (including Sammatīya) existed side by side during the 6th and 7th centuries A. D.[28] In later days during the Pala period Buddhism gained a momentum as the Pala's were staunch Buddhists.

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24. 'brāhmaṇa-natha śarma...........etad bharyya ramica..... ...Vata-Gohabyam-ev-asyan-kasika-panca-stupa-nikayika nigrantha śramaṇācāryya-Iuhanandi-śisya. praśisyadhisthita vihāre bhagavatam-nrhatam.........' Paharpur Copper-plate glant of the Gupta year 159. Ep. Ind ; Vol., XX, pp. 61-62.
25. Thomas Walters, On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, Vol.II, p.184.
26. Thomas Walters, Ibid, p. 187.
27. History of Bengal, D. U. Publication, Vol. I, p. 409.
28. Takakusu, It-sing, XXX, ch. 10.

From all that have been said above it may appear even to a casual observer that there is a conglomeration of culture of Pāśupata Śaivism, Jainism and Buddhism during the 6th and 7th Centuries A. D. in Bengal. Bengal had drifted far indeed from the Vedic tenets due to the influence of these different sects. Sections of common people became indifferent to the Vedic rules and injunctions. They prided on their religious tenets which were outside the field of the Vedic fold. As such, chaos and disorder in practice of religious, social custom followed. These chaotic conditions, and unedifying practices connected with them resulted in social degeneration and cultural decadence.

At this crucial moment came forward the Purāṇakāras who were mostly Vedic brāhmaṇas who accepted the gauntlet thrown by this new trend of thought. They took the Purāṇas as the channels of propagating their own views. They redacted the Purāṇas, changed these to suit their own purpose. There is little doubt in the fact that the influx of Vedic culture in Bengal gained momentum during the 6th and 7th centuries. The Tipperah Copper plate refers to the settlement of Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas even in the eastern most part of Bengal.[29] The Nidhanpur Copper-plate of Bhāskarvarman speaks of the settlement of 205 Brāhmaṇas of different Vedas, viz. Vājasaneyi, Chāndoga, Bāhvṛcya, Cārakya, Taittirīya in Sylhet.[30] This Vedic culture was modified as the Brāhmaṇical religion was a prominent factor during the reign of the Pālas also. The Munghyr Plate of Devapāla records a grant of land to 'bhaṭṭapravara Vihekarata Misra who was shinning in different Vedic lores.[31] The Badal Pillar Inscription

29. Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 24-25; Vol., XV, pp. 310-311.

30. Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī, pp. 1 ft.

31. 'śrīman devapāladevaḥ......samājñāpayati...mayā...vedārthavido yajvāno bhattaviśvaratasya pautrāya vidyāvadala-cetaso-bhattaśrī varāharatasya putrāya pada-vâkya-pramāṇa-vidyāpārangatāya aupamanyava sagotrāya aslayana-sabrahmacāriṇe bhattapravara vihekarata-miśrāya sasanikrtya pratipāditaḥ'.

Ep. Ind.. Vol. XVIII, p. 306.

speaks of Kedāramiśra as proficient in the meaning and interpretation of the Vedas.[32] From the Bangadh Copper plate of Mahipala I, we know that a piece of land was given to Kṛṣṇāditya śarmā, son of Madhusūdana and grandson of Hriṣikeśa, belonging to Parāśaragotra and Śakti-Vasiṣṭha-Parāśara Pravara. This Kṛṣṇāditya śarmā has been described as a brahmacārin expert in the Yajur-Veda, specialised in the Vājasaneyi branch of it, adept in Mimāṁsā Vyākaraṇa and Tarka.[33]

Thus the influx and fusion of Vedic and Brahmnical religions being proved, an all-out effort to purge those unwanted heretic elements fromthose writings stands, as we have seen, as significant in the Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-Purāṇa. These social and religious reformers knew that if they could present a horrible and painful picture of the nether regions (where man has to go for his evil doings), they would perhaps be able to some extent to prevent the people from committing sins. Thus, the Bengal Mss. have four additional verses from v.s. 188 Ch. 66 of the printed editions. There it is said "......terrible is the wrath and pathos of the serpents. The evil-doers are tied by rope and bitten. Very quick are the birth and death of the insects and others. The reptiles have to undergo manifold troubles. The beasts and birds acutely suffer from hunger in summer, winter and rains. Very frequently, the animals (mṛga) feeling great hunger-pain, remain afraid. People going there are often tied down and bitten and they have to conquer hunger and

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32. 'Vācām-vaibhavam-āgameṣv-adhigamaṁ nīteḥ param niṣṭhitam/
vedārthānugamād-asīmamahaso vaṁśasya sambandhitam//
āśaktiṁ guṇakīrttaneṣu mahatām niṣṇātatam jyotiṣo/
yasyān-alpamate remeye yasae dharmāvatāri badad'//

Gauḍalekhamālā. p.

33. ......śrīman malupaladevaḥ samādiśati......
......parāśara-sagotrāya śakti-vaśiṣṭha-parāśara-pravarāya yajurveda-sabrahmacāriṇe vāja..... śākhādhyāyine mīmāṁsā-vyākaraṇa-tarka-vidyāvide——bhaṭṭaputra hṛṣikeśa pautrāya bhaṭṭaputra madhu-sūdana putrāya bhaṭṭaputra-kṛṣṇāditya-sarmaṇe'

Gauḍalekhamālā, pp. 96-97.

thirst etc. Fear was created due to the piercing of the nose.[34] These dreadful pictures of the nether region presented by this text, surely had an effect on the chaotic manners and customs then prevalent in society.

We have already seen how the society of Bengal was affected by Pāśupata-Śaivism, Jainism and Buddhism during the sixth and seventh century A. D. The protest and retaliation of the Vedic and Brahmanic upholders of Dharma also gained momentum during that period. It has also been shown how this Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa of the Bengal recension bears ample evidence of it. So, we may venture an opinion that the Bengal recension of the Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa of the Padma-p. should be dated during that period i.e. sixth and seventh century A.D.

34. 'tr** ksa (?) ca sarpaṇaṁ krodha-duhkhāñca dāruṇam/
dustāṇām Ihatanam loke pāśena ca nibandhanam//
akasmāt janmamaraṇam kītādīnām muhurmuhuh/
varsā-śīt-ātapair-duhkham sukaṣtaṃ mṛgapaksiāṇm/
ksuṇṇa-kleśeṇa mahatā sasastra's ca sadā migaḥ//
ksut-trsṇādeśca sahanaṁ vandhanam daṇḍa-tādanaṃ/
nāsābedhana-santrāsa satedaka-sadahatih//

DATE OF VIṢṆU-PURĀṆA'S CHAPTERS ON MĀYĀMOHA-LEGEND

By

S. N. Roy,

[पुराणेषु बहवः प्रक्षिप्ता अंशा उपलभ्यन्ते। इमे प्रक्षेपा मूलभागेषु क्वचित्प्रक्षिप्तनवीनश्लोकरूपेण क्वचिच्च नवीनाध्यायरूपेण दृश्यन्ते। अस्मिन्निबन्धे विष्णुपुराणस्य तृतीयांशे उपलब्धस्य 'मायामोह' प्रकरणस्य कालनिर्धारणं कृतम्। विष्णुपुराणस्य तृतीयांशे सप्तदशाष्टादशाध्याययोर्मायामोहप्रकरणं विद्यते। यत्र विष्णुनोत्पादितेन मायामोहेनासदुपदेशद्वारा दैत्या नाशं प्रापिताः। चतुर्थांशस्य नवमाध्यायेऽपि मोहप्रकरणमस्ति, यत्र बृहस्पतिमन्त्राभिचाराभिभूता रजिपुत्रा नाशं प्रयाताः। अत्र विभिन्नपुराणेषूपलब्धस्य मायामोहप्रकरणस्य तुलनया विष्णुपुराणे उपलब्धस्य मायामोहप्रकरणस्यार्वाचीनत्वं निर्धारितमथ च अस्मिन् पुराणे अस्यांशस्य रचनाकालोप्यूहितः। निबन्धकारस्यमतेऽयमंशोऽत्र श्रीमद्भागवतापेक्षयाऽप्यधिकं साम्प्रदायिकप्रभावेण प्रभावितो वर्तते। श्रीमद्भागवतस्य निर्माणकालो बहुभिर्विद्वद्भिः खिष्टीयवर्षाणां नवमशताब्द्यां (हाजरामहोदयैः षष्ठशताब्द्यां) स्वीकृतः। अतस्तदपेक्षयाऽयमंशो नवीनः सम्भाव्यते। चतुर्थांशे उपलब्धस्याख्यानस्य वर्णनं मत्स्यपुराणे हरिवंशपुराणे चोपलभ्यते। अतः हाजरामहोदयैः स्थापितं यत् तृतीयांशे उपलब्धं मायामोहोत्पत्तिप्रकरणं मत्स्यपुराणाद्यपेक्षया स्वस्य परभावित्वं साम्प्रदायिकरूपत्वं च ख्यापयति। परंतु चतुर्थेऽशे वर्त्तमानं मायामोहप्रकरणं मत्स्यादिगतमायामोहप्रकरणेन सह साम्यमावहति। उभावपि अंशौ एकेनैव लेखकेन रचितौ इति तु न सम्भाव्यते। अतस्तृतीयांशे उपलब्धं 'मायामोह' प्रकरणं केनापि वैष्णवेन साम्प्रदायिकरागवशात् ईसवीयकालस्य नवम्याः शताब्द्याः पश्चात् समावेशितमिति लेखकस्य मतम्।]

It would be only a repitition of the scholarly conclusions to state that the Purāṇas were subjected to additions and alterations in later times[1] and consequently their original bulk was affected to

1. In this connection Dr. Agrawal lays emphasis on the process of Upabṛṁhaṇa or augmenting which was operative in almost all Purāṇas from the very beginning and upto later times. It was 'a

a lesser or larger degree. The later tamperings are visible either in form of new verses in the early chapters or new chapters in the original sections. Study in their chronology is significant because in the first place they point to the emergence of new ideas in the social and religious structure of the Hindu Civilization and secondly though added to early texts, they form separate works in themselves and do not belong to the general date of the original work. It is for this purpose that we propose here to ascertain the chronology of the Māyāmoha-legend related in book III of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.

On the basis of the terms '*Nagna*' and '*Arhata*' and followers of Ahiṁsā mentioned in the story, Prof. Wilson had already remarked[1] that the description indicates the great prevalence of the Jain sect in the west of India in the eleventh and twelfth centuries or perhaps a century earlier and is a circumstance of the same weight in investigating the date of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. To a satisfactory reservation, by a textual analysis of the legend as described in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa Dr. Hazra opines that it is later than its counterform in the Matsya-Purāṇa.[2] We may venture here to see the merit and value of Dr. Hazra's conclusion from the consideration which has escaped his full notice. In the Matsya-Purāṇa the story of delusion (Māyāmoha) concerns with the activities of the sons of king Raji. They had become very powerful, took possession of the heavenly kingdom of Indra and

sacred obligation of authorship to keep the text upto date by revising its contents so often as necessary' and the 'deliberate technique' due to which the existing Purāṇic texts have gained in size and scope (Matsya Purāṇa—A Study, Preface, P. III.). In a general way Dr. Hazra remarks that the tradition demanded re-editing of the Purāṇas so that their importance as work of authority might not decrease (Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p. 6.). According to Pargiter most of the matters of the Purānas were later additions made by the Purāṇic brahmans (A. I. H. T., p. 37). But the significance of a late passage should not be underestimated. The remark that 'it is pejorative to speak of it as interpolation' (Agrawal, Ibid) is no doubt instructive to find out the new cultural trends which led to the formation of a late passage added to an early text.

1. Translation of Viṣṇu-P., III edition, p. 270, fn. 1.
2. Hazra, Ibid, p. 24.

deprived him of his share in the sacrifices. In such circumstances Indra sought the help of Bṛhaspati. The latter increased the power of the god by means of various rites. He, then, preached the sons of Raji the non-Vedic religion of the Jin and deluded them. They began to follow non-Vedic path, grew week and were defeated and killed by Indra.[1] It has been noticed that the Māyāmoha-story narrated in the text of the Matsya-Purāṇa was borrowed in the Harivaṁśa and Devībhāgavata, in both of which Bṛhaspati is stated to have deluded the adversaries of the gods.[2] What Dr. Hazra has not taken into consideration is that the above form of Māyāmoha-story also occurs in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Bk. IV, Chap. IX, and this fact should not be overlooked in the discussion of the chronology of the legend. In its essential aspects the story is much similar to that of the Matsya-Purāṇa. In this context the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa narrates that as a result of Bṛhaspati's misguidance the sons of Raji became enemies of the Brāhmaṇas, regardless of the traditional religion, and contemners of the Vedas. Then they were killed by Indra, who with the help of Bṛhaspati got his place in heaven. This shows that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa has two forms of the Māyāmoha-legend, one of which depicts Bṛhaspati's role in deluding the adversaries of the gods, while the other associates the act of delusion with Viṣṇu. Occurrence of two-forms of the same story in one and same text points to two different periods of their compilation.[3] Both of them could never have emerged from the pen of the same compiler. When it is observed that other texts like the Matsya-Purāṇa and Harivaṁśa have the former version in them, the late compilation of the latter one is reasonably established[4]. But the internal scrutiny of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's

1. Matsya-p. XXIV. 43-49.
2. Hazra, Ibid, p. 25.
3. Thus the Brahmāṇḍa-p. depicts two forms of story of Jāmadagnya Rāma in its passages. In the Chapters written on lineage of kings and ṛṣis, it gives bare outline. But in Part III the same story is narrated in as many as 38 chapters. For the early date of the former and interpolated nature of the latter see Purāṇa bulletin, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 305 ff.
4. This point has been vividly discussed by Dr. Hazra, Ibid, p. 25.

passages points to a still more correct conclusion that some later compiler of this Purāṇa without disturbing the consistency of the story in its original setting, incorporated in Bk. III the new and Vaiṣṇavite form for the simple reason of retaining the popularity of the early work.

Considering the problem of chronology of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Dr. Hazra is further inclined to suggest that the Padma-Purāṇa has an amalgamated form of the Māyāmoha-story occurring in the Matsya and Viṣṇu-Purāṇas.[1] Giving due allowance to the logic and reason contained in this conclusion, we may approach the actuality of circumstance from another angle. Above we have submitted that the fact of depicting the early form of Māyāmoha-story has not been taken into account by Dr. Hazra. It has to be found out as to what was that particular circumstance which led to the formation of another version of the legend. In all probability it was framed under sectarian influence by associating the act of deluding the adversaries of the gods with the supreme Vaiṣṇava deity in place of the divine priest. In the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa the Chapters concerned with the Vaiṣṇavite version are more consistently arranged[2] than the Padma-Purāṇa. The arrangement of the latter has an incongruous and inconsistent appearance in which the early and later forms are confused together in the same continuation. Consequently the Vaiṣṇavite version of the legend does not have independent status to make its appeal separate and dissociated from the early form. In the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, on the other hand, there is considerable gap between the two versions of the story compiled in two different sections. The plan which has been followed in the Viṣṇu-

1. Hazra. Ibid, p. 25.
2. The 'consistent plan' of the Viṣṇu-P. was first observed by Pargiter, who remarked that it is a late work 'composed as a single whole' 'and not a collection of materials of various times.' (Pargiter, Ibid, p. 80). As we shall subsequently show in this paper while there is consistency in the Chapters written on Māyāmoha-story, there is much of dislocation in the neighbouring chapters on Śrāddha. This evidently indicates that the text was not compiled as 'a single whole' and it is not a late work.

Purāṇa leaves the impression that the Vaiṣṇavite form of the story has been adjusted into a new setting. This seems to be the attempt of a later period improved upon the older and clumsy arrangement of the Padma-Purāṇa. Such conclusion is more clearly brought out by chapter VI of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa occurring in the same section. The verses of this Chapter reveal the possibility of two facts. One is sectarian blending in the original passages and other is indebtedness of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa to the Padma-Purāṇa for its chapters written on Māyāmoha. This Chapter is considered to have been compiled at a later date, because it gives the list of eighteen Purāṇas. It is a proof of an interference with the integrity of the text'.[1] What needs to be specified here is that the Chapter has Vaiṣṇavite leaning which is most distinctly expressed by verse 26. It is stated in this verse that the passages of the Visnu-Purāṇa on *Sarga* (Creation), *Pratisarga* (recreation), *Vaṁśa* (genealogy of the sages and gods), *Manvantara* (periods of Manu)) and so on are all devoted to God Viṣṇu.[2] This is a clear evidence of conversion of original passages of this text into sectarian forms. The compiler of this Chapter, besides giving sectarian rendering to the verse has also made an attempt to maintain its consistency in the text and Separate entity appreciably well. Thus the original verse giving the five characteristics of a Purāṇa occurs in it with the remark that these five cover in a general way all the Mahāpurāṇas as well as the UP-Purāṇas.[3] But there is an intervening verse between this and the verse under discussion.[4] It demarcates the line of arrangement

1. Wilson, Ibid, Preface XIII.

2. सर्गे च प्रतिसर्गे च वंशमन्वन्तरादिषु ।
कथ्यते भगवान्विष्णुरशेष्वेव सत्तम ॥

3. महापुराणान्येतानि ह्यष्टादश महामुने ।
तथा चोपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि च ।
सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशमन्वन्तराणि च ।
सर्वेष्वेतेषु कथ्यन्ते वंशानुचरितं च यत् । 25

4. यदेतत्तव मैत्रेय पुराणं कथ्यते मया ।
एतद्वैष्णवसंज्ञं वै पाद्मस्य समनन्तरम् । 26

of this Chapter. The general description of the Purāṇa- literature ends at this juncture and the compiler proceeds to describe the distinct features which are peculiar to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa[1] Thus there seems to be an identity of method followed in the arrangement of the early and late verses of this Chapter and in that of the early and late Chapters of the text as a whole on the other. This points to the possibility of compilation of the late verses occurring in the present chapter and the Chapters written on Māyāmoha in the present Section by one and the same pen. This would imply that these passages were compiled at a comparatively later period and the Padma-Purāṇa mentioned twice[2] in them formed the source of the Vaiṣṇavite form of the Māyāmoha-story well arranged and consistently narrated in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.

The above conclusion of inteference with the early form of the present section can further be substantiated by the scrutiny of Chapter IV. The Chapter has most of its verses in common with the Vāyu-Purāṇa. But while the Vāyu-Purāṇa has preserved only the early passages in its Chapter, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa has elements of lateness. Both these texts mention Vyāsa and his distinguished disciples who played their role in preserving, propagating and expanding the Vedas. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, however, goes a step further and makes pointed reference to the Mahābhārata, which, it states, was composed by Vyāsa, who is styled as God Nārāyaṇa himself.[3] Thus the Chapter of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa

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1. सर्गे च प्रतिसर्गे च वंशमन्वन्तरादिषु ।
   कथ्यते भगवान्विष्णुरशेषेष्वेव सत्तम । 27 . See also p. 5. fn. 2.
2. Once in verse 21 giving list of the Purāṇas and again in verse 26 pointed out above. It may be conjectured that पाद्मस्य समनन्तरम् refers to the similarity of the Viṣṇu and Padma Purāṇas in regard to the Chapters on Māyāmoha. Wilson, however, translates as the Purāṇa having Vaiṣṇava for its name described 'next in series to Padma-Purāṇa.'
3. It would be seen that the verses are mostly common in the Chapters of both the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and Vāyu-Purāṇa :

   ब्रह्मणा चोदितो व्यासो वेदान् व्यस्तुं प्रचक्रमे ।
   अथ शिष्यान्प्रजग्राह चतुरो वेदपारगान् ।

   Viṣṇu-P. III, 4. 7.

seems to have been compiled at a time when the Great Epic had assumed its final shape and was in wide circulation. Vāyu-Purāṇa's Chapter points to its early form existing earlier than the Mahābhārata which witnesses the publicity of this purāṇa.[1]

Period of the Chapter may be considered in the light of the form of incarnation reflected by the above verse. Early and late forms of incarnation especially of Viṣṇu have been helpful in fixing the date of Purāṇic passages. Thus Dr. Hazra's analysis[1] indicates that the Purāṇic passages bestow two stages in relation to Viṣṇu's incarnation. In early Purāṇas only a small portion of Viṣṇu is stated to have incarnated in the form of Śrīkṛṣṇa. But subsequently Viṣṇu himself is represented in Śrīkṛṣṇa's form. The former conception is present in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and the latter in the Bhāgavata. This shows that the Chapter of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa speaking of Vyāsa as Nārāyaṇa, himself, was compiled later than its original form.

Late compilation of the Vaiṣṇvite form of the Māyāmoha-legend depicted in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa can also be ascertained in the light of the passages of the Bhāgavata. It is well known that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and Bhagavata, for most of their legends, are mutually related. Passages on the Vaiṣṇava myths and deities mostly run parallel in them. Scholars have even gone to the

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ब्रह्मणा चोदितः सोऽस्मिन् वेदं व्यस्तुं प्रचक्रमे ।
अथ शिष्यान् स जग्राह चतुरो वेदकारणात् ।

Vāyu-P. Pūrvārdha LX. 12.

But the disagreement between the two texts is caused by the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's verse running as :

कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं प्रभुम् ।
कोह्यन्यो भुवि मैत्रेय महाभारतकृद्भवेत् । III. 4. 5.

Although the Vāyu-Purāṇa also mentions–Vyāsa as the Aṁśāvatāra of Nārāyaṇa, yet it does not refer to the compilation of Mahābhārata:

अस्मिन् युगे कृतो व्यासः पराशर्यः परन्तपः ।
द्वैपायन इति ख्यातो विष्णोरंशः प्रकीर्त्तितः ।

Pūrvārdha, LX. 2.

1. Mahābhārata, III. 191. 16; see also Dikshitar : Some aspects of the Vāyu-Purāṇa, p. 10 ; Hazra, Ibid, p. 13.

extent of suggesting that the Bhāgavata because of its detailed account is indebted to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa which has shorter and concise description.[2] It may be noted that so far as the Māyāmoha story is concerned the Bhāgavata, while it depicts the earlier form, is silent about the Vaiṣṇavite version figuring so prominently in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. The earlier form, too, has simply the outline of the story. The entire story is described in a few verses in this text[3] This would amount to the assertion that the Bhāgavata has a more ancient form of the Māyāmoha story. The earliness of a text depends upon its short account treated exhaustively in the texts compiled in the subsequent periods. It is on this formula that early or late compilation of the Purāṇa texts has been discussed by those who have attempted to determine the problem of Purāṇic chronology. It would be seen, therefore, that the Bhāgavata version of this story is earlier than the first version narrated in the Viṣṇu and Matsy Purāṇas. Absence of the Vaiṣṇvite version in this text further shows that the Chapters of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa devoted to it are much later than the date of the Bhāgavata.

The spurious nature of these Chapters of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa can also be considered in the light of the passages of the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. Although the stamp of lateness is borne out by these two Purāṇas in a number of their passages, yet in the present context they have preserved the original form to a remarkable degree. These two texts refer to the term '*Nagna*' and explain it in a simpler form. They do not frame any legend on its basis. Their earliness is clearly brought out when we consider the context in which the term occure. It is related that the 'Nagnas' are those who forsake the study of the Vedas, the covering of the people, through delusion. It has been prescribed that sight of such persons and of many others whose names are

1. Hazra, Ibid, p. 22.
2. Pargiter, Ibid, p. 80; Winternitz, History of Indian Literature. Vol. I, p. 555 ; Hazra, Ibid, p. 22.
3. Bhāgavata, IX. 17. 12-16.

enumerated in the passage should be avoided in Śrāddha.[1] The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa also refers to such persons in its Śrāddha Chapters immediately preceding the passages on Māyāmoha-story, which is conspicuous by its absence in the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. Non-occurrence of the Māyāmoha-legend in these two Purāṇas shows that the Chapters of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa under discussion are later in date than its Śrāddha Chapters. The compiler of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa added the legend covering these Chapters in immediate succession of its Chapters which only refer to the forsakers of the Vedic path mentioned as 'Nagnas' but do not discuss them in detail. It is simply said that the Pitṛs do not partake of the Śrāddha meal in case it is looked upon by a 'Nagna' and other such people enumerated in the verse.[2] Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas give the same description but they also explain the term 'Nagna' in the same continuation. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa gives identical meaning of this term. But the verses related to it are removed from the Śrāddha-chapters to the Māyāmoha-legend.[3] It would be seen that the arrangement of Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas because of its identity in both the texts is earlier On the other hand the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa makes these verses the introductory part of the Māyāmoha-legend in all likelihood after transferring them from their original place of occurrence. The Chapters of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa narrating the legend should have been, therefore, absent in its original form.

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1. नग्नादयो न पश्येयुः श्राद्धमेवं व्यवस्थितम् ।
सर्वेषामेव भूतानां त्रयीसंवरणां स्मृतम् ।
परित्यजति यो मोहात्ते वै नग्ना द्विजोत्तमाः ।
(परित्यजति यो मोहात्ते वै नग्नादयो द्विजाः) ।

Vāyu-P. Uttarārdha, XVI, 24/1, 26/2, 27/1.
Brahmāṇḍa-P. III, XIV, 34/1, 35/2, 36/1.

2. Viṣṇu-P. III. 16. 12, 13.

3. ऋग्यजुस्सामसंज्ञेयं त्रयी वर्णावृतिर्द्विज ।
एतामुज्झति यो मोहात्स नग्नः पातकी द्विजः ॥
त्रयी समस्तवर्णानां द्विज संवरणं यतः ।
नग्नो भवत्युज्झितायामतस्तस्यां न संशयः ॥ Viṣṇu-P. III. 17. 5, 6.

There is also another clue to ascertain that the Vaiṣṇavite version of the Māyāmoha-story was inserted in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa at a late stage. Chapters on Śrāddha occurring immediately before the Māyāmoha-Story are not intact in its available text. A number of them seem to have been dropped by the compiler in order to maintain the original bulk. In the Vāyu-Purāṇa Śrāddha covers twelve chapters. In the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa their number is ten.. But in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa it is reduced to three. It is as a result of omission that its description on the topic is not self-sufficient. Most of the injunctions are vague in their implication. Their exact bearing becomes clear only when they are studied in the light of the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas. The passages found missing in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and preserved in Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas should have been compiled in an earlier period. For instance, in the list of the persons qualified for the Śrāddha reference has been made in them to the Brāhmaṇa who is well-versed in the Bārhaspatya Śāstra.[1] It is well-known that Bṛhaspati was a great authority on Ancient Hindu Polity, who flourished earlier than Kauṭilya. It seems, therefore, that the Śrāddha passages of the Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas were compiled at a time when the treatise of Bṛhaspati still existed and was held in high esteem. In terms of time these passages cannot be separated from the period of Bhāsa who is known to have composed thirteen dramas to his credit, one of which narrates how Rāvaṇa in the guise of a Brāhmaṇa claimed himself to be the knower of Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra in order to impress Rāma who was in search of a Brāhmaṇa-guide to perform the Śrāddha of his father.[2]

Absence of original verses and passages as a result of their being dropped and later addition of the Māyāmoha-legend is most

1. बार्हस्पत्ये तथा शास्त्रे पारं यश्च द्विजो गतः । Vāyu-P. XVII. 58/1.
बार्हस्पत्ये महाशास्त्रे यश्च पारंगतो द्विजः ।
Brahmāṇḍa-P. III. 15. 82/1.

2. Pratimanātakam, Act V. In the Arthaśāstra, Kauṭilya offers his salutation to Śukra and Bṛhaspati ॐ नमः शुक्रबृहस्पतीभ्याम्. Its mention in the Pratimānātakaṁ shows that Bhāsa should be placed in the Pre-Mauryan Period, Pusalker, Bhāsa—A Study, pp. 65, 81.

evident in Chapter XVI. It is one of the Śrāddha-chapters describing the objects to be offered to the Pitṛs. These include flesh of various birds, vegetables, corns and milk. But the regular style with which a chapter should begin seems to be missing in it. Normally a chapter has introductory verse or verses which serve as the topic of the new description. For example Chapter XV, which defines the necessary qualities of the Brāhmaṇas to be entertained in Śrāddha, gives the idea to this effect in its very first verse. Similarly Chapter XVII, in no less than four verses introduces its topic viz., the description of the person whom the title of 'Nagna' is to be given. The present Chapter, on the other hand, has a sudden start without any introductory verse in relation to its passages. One may very well assume that the compiler, who incorporated the Māyāmoha-legend, shortened the original length of the Śrāddha-Chapters and did not take into account the older arrangement, which is incidently undisturbed in the Matsya-Purāṇa. The latter gives almost a similar list of the kinds of flesh-diets to be offered in the Śrāddha. But before giving the description it explicitly states that the Pitṛs are exceedingly fond of flesh, so lord Keśava has said.[1] Consequently the chapter of Matsy-Purāṇa appears more commodious than those of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa whose compiler, while adding the Māyāmoha-legend to it either omitted the original verses of its older Chapters or transferred them to the Chapters compiled in later times.

The internal scrutiny of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's passages on Māyāmoha-legend and external evidences supplied by other Purāṇa texts lead us to the following conclusion : The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa has preserved in it both the non-sectarian and sectarian forms of Māyāmoha-story. By its very nature the former seems to have been present in the original text when it was undisturbed and unadulterated. The sectarian form which associates itself with the supreme Vaiṣṇava deity in place of the divine priest is of

1. मांसं प्रीणाति वै सर्वान् पितॄनित्याह केशवः । Matsya-P. XVII. 30/2.
The details of the birds and animals whose flesh is to be offered are given subsequent to it.

additional nature. Its insertion has caused reduction in the length and breadth of the neighbouring chapters which were integral parts of the original text. This shows that the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa too, like other early Purāṇas, was subjected to omission and commission of passages even after its genuine bulk had taken its final shape. It was this approach of the Purāṇic school of compilers which resulted into shaping and re-shaping of the early texts on one hand and formation of new works on the other. The popularity of new religious trends put into the guise of lagends could have been possible only when they were made parts of ancient works. The Vaiṣṇavite form of the Māyāmoha-legend as found in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is a successful demonstration of this tendency. Our analysis further indicates that the date of its compilation should be placed later than most of the Purāṇas like the Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya and Bhāgavata. Of these the Bhāgavata is commonly dated in the 9th century A. D.[1] The date of Viṣṇu-Purāṇa's Chapters analysed in the present paper would, therefore, come subsequent to it.

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1 C. V. Vaidya, J. B. B. R. A. S., 1925, pp. 144 ff.; Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, pp 229 ff.; Pargiter. Ibid, p. 80; Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, 556; Hazra, however, places the work in the 6th century A. D., Ibid, p. 55.

पुराणसुभाषितानि

(श्रीमद्भागवतपुराणात्)

(पूर्वतोऽनुवृत्तम्)

यावद् भ्रियेत जठरं तावत् स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम् ।
अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति ॥ (७।१४।८)

तपो विद्या च विप्राणां निःश्रेयसकरे उभे ।
ते एव दुर्विनीतस्य कल्पेते कर्तुरन्यथा ॥ (९।४।७०)

उत्तमश्चिन्तितं कुर्यात् प्रोक्तकारी तु मध्यमः ।
अधमोऽश्रद्धया कुर्यादकर्त्तोच्चरितं पितुः ॥ (९।१८।४४)

न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति ।
हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मेव भूय एवाभिवर्द्धते ॥

यदा न कुरुते भावं सर्वभूतेष्वमङ्गलम् ।
समदृष्टेस्तदा पुंसः सर्वाः सुखमया दिशः ॥ (९।१९।१४,१५)

मात्रा स्वस्रा दुहित्रा वा नाविविक्तासनो भवेत् ।
बलवानिन्द्रियग्रामो विद्वांसमपि कर्षति ॥ (९।१९।१७)

मृत्युर्बुद्धिमताऽपोह्यो यावद् बुद्धिबलोदयम् ।
यद्यसौ न निवर्त्तेत नापराधोऽस्ति देहिनः ॥ (१०।१।४८)

किं दुःसहं नु साधूनां विदुषां किमपेक्षितम् ।
किमकार्यं कदर्याणां दुस्त्यजं किं धृतात्मनाम् ॥ (१०।१।५८)

मातरं पितरं भ्रातॄन् सर्वांश्च सुहृदस्तथा ।
घ्नन्ति ह्यसुतृपो लुब्धा राजानः प्रायशो भुवि ॥ (१०।१।६७)

हिंस्रः स्वपापेन विहिंसितः खलः,
साधुः समत्वेन भयाद् विमुच्यते ॥ (१०।७।३१७)

असतः श्रीमदाऽन्धस्य दारिद्र्यं परमञ्जनम् ।
आत्मौपम्येन भूतानि दरिद्रः परमीक्षते ॥ (१०।१०।१३)

एतावज्जन्मसाफल्यं देहिनामिह देहिषु ।
प्राणैरर्थैर्धिया वाचा श्रेय एवाचरेत् सदा ॥ (१०।२२।३५)

न हि गोप्यं हि साधूनां कृत्यं सर्वात्मनामिह । (१०।२४।४उ)

कर्मणा जायते जन्तुः कर्मणैव विलीयते ।
सुखं दुःखं भयं क्षेमं कर्मणैवाभिपद्यते ॥

अस्ति चेदीश्वरः कश्चित् फलरूप्यन्यकर्मणाम् ।
कर्त्तारं भजते सोऽपि न ह्यकर्त्तुः प्रभुर्हि सः ॥(१०।२४।१३-१४)

स्वभावतन्त्रो हि जनः स्वभावमनुवर्त्तते ।
स्वभावस्थमिदं सर्वं सदेवासुरमानुषम् ॥

देहानुच्चावचाञ्जन्तुः प्राप्योत्सृजति कर्मणा ।
शत्रुर्मित्रमुदासीनः कर्मैव गुरुरीश्वरः ॥

तस्मात्संपूजयेत्कर्म स्वभावस्थः स्वकर्मकृत् ।
अञ्जसा येन वर्तेत तदेवास्य हि दैवतम् ॥

आजीव्यैकतरं भावं यस्त्वन्यमुपजीवति ।
न तस्माद् विन्दते क्षेमं जारं नार्यसती यथा ॥ (१०।२४।१६-१९)

ईश्वराणां वचः सत्यं तथैवाचरितं क्वचित् ।
तेषां यत् स्ववचोयुक्तं बुद्धिमांस्तत् समाचरेत् ॥ (१०।३३।३२)

मातरं पितरं वृद्धं भार्यां साध्वीं सुतं शिशुम् ।
गुरुं विप्रं प्रपन्नञ्च कल्पोऽबिभ्रच्छ्वसन् मृतः ॥ (१०।४५।७)

न ह्यम्मयानि तीर्थानि न देवा मृच्छिलामयाः ।
ते पुनन्त्युरुकालेन दर्शनादेव साधवः ॥ (१०।४८।३१)

एकः प्रसूयते जन्तुरेक एव प्रलीयते ।
एकोऽनुभुङ्क्ते सुकृतमेक एव च दुष्कृतम् ॥ (१०।४९।२१)

किं दुर्मर्षं तितिक्षूणां किमकार्यमसाधुभिः ।
किं न देयं वदान्यानां कः परः समदर्शिनाम् ॥ (१०।७२।१९)

तावज्जितेन्द्रियो न स्याद् विजितान्येन्द्रियः पुमान् ।
न जयेद्रसनं यावज्जितं सर्वं जिते रसे ॥ (११।८।२१)

आशा हि परमं दुःखं नैराश्यं परमं सुखम् ।
यथा सञ्छिद्य कान्ताशां सुखं सुष्वाप पिङ्गला ॥ (११।८।४४)

दृष्टिपूतं न्यसेत् पादं वस्त्रपूतं पिबेज्जलम् ।
सत्यपूतां वदेद् वाचं मनःपूतं समाचरेत् ॥ (११।१८।१६)

क्वचिद् गुणोपि दोषस्स्यात् दोषोऽपि विधिना गुणः ।
गुणदोषार्थनियमस्तद्भिदामेव बाधते ॥ (११।२१।१६)

अन्नं हि प्राणिनां प्राण आर्त्तानां शरणं त्वहम् ।
धर्मो वित्तं नृणां प्रेत्य सन्तोऽर्वाग् बिभ्यतोऽरणम् ॥ (११।२६।३३)

ये ये भूपतयो राजन् भुञ्जन्ति भुवमोजसा ।
कालेन ते कृताः सर्वे कथामात्राः कथासु च ॥ (१२।२।४४)

अतिवादांस्तितिक्षेत नावमन्येत कंचन ।
न चेमं देहमाश्रित्य वैरं कुर्वीत केनचित् ॥ (१२।६।३४)

—हरदेवप्रसाद त्रिपाठी

THE MEANING OF MAHĀDEVA

By

V. S. Agrawala

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे डा० अग्रवालमहोदयैर्वेदेषु पुराणेषु चोपवर्णितस्य महादेवस्य प्रतीकात्मिका व्याख्या कृता। महादेवः काचिद् नित्या चित्सत्ता विद्यते, या सर्वभूतेष्वभिव्यक्तिं प्राप्य अस्माकमनुभवस्य विषयो भवति। भारतीयपरम्परायां महादेव एव 'रुद्रः' 'शिवः' इति च आख्यायते। अग्निदेव एव रौद्ररूपे रुद्रः शिवरूपे च शिवो मन्यते। स एव मर्त्येष्वमृतं, स एव च प्राणः। स एव च यज्ञस्य देवः। वेदेषु रुद्र-शिवस्य अग्निना सह ऐकात्म्यं प्राख्यायते। अग्निरेव अग्निरित्यपि चोच्यते। स एव प्रजापतिः। यथा अग्निः शीतः उष्णश्च विद्यते तथैव महादेवोऽपि शिवरूपो भैरवरूपश्च सन् सृष्टीनां धारकः संहारकश्च भवति। यथा ऋग्वेदे इन्द्रः 'नृतु' इति निर्दिष्टः, तथैव पुराणेषु महादेवोऽपि ताण्डवकृत् नित्यनृत्यश्च प्रोच्यते। अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन महादेवस्य उभावपि शिवभैरवरूपौ व्याख्यातौ। शिवलिङ्गस्य व्याख्याऽपि चात्र कृता। अव्यक्तः शिवो लिङ्गरूपः, व्यक्तश्च पुरुषविग्रहरूपो भूतेषु स्थितोऽग्निरूपश्चेति च प्रतिपादितम्। शक्तितत्त्वस्य व्याख्यापि च शिवतत्त्वव्याख्यया सहैव कृता।]

Śiva is the great god, Mahādeva. He is the Immortal Divine Principle who has entered the mortal beings. He is known as the Death-conquering Deity, Mṛtyuñjaya. The Great God is the eternal life-principle. He incarnates in matter and comes within the orbit of individual experience. He is unmanifest in his universal form, but manifest in each individual body whether of men, animals or plants. At each level of manifestation the immortal and divine nature of the Great God is evident. He represents the predominent effect of existence and the mysterious force called life or *prāṇa*.

Mahādeva is named as Rudra and Śiva in Indian tradition. He is identified with Agni or vice versa. Agni is stated to be of a double aspect, viz. Rudra in his terrible form and Śiva in his

auspicious form. Agni is called the immortal god (*Amṛitadeva*). The Vedic thinkers expressed their concept of the Great God in a threefold formulations: firstly that Agni is Rudra; Secondly that Agni is the immortal principle among mortals; thirdly, that Agni is the life principle called *Prāṇa* within the mortal bodies. For example, it is stated in the Rig-Veda: "Agni, You are Rudra" (RV. 2.1 7). In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (3.3.1.10; 6.1.3.10) it is said: "That who is Rudra is the same as Agni" In the Tāṇḍya-Brāhmaṇa (12.4.24) we read: "Rudra is Agni". and in Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa. "That which is Agni is Rudra" (Tait. B. 1.1.5.8-9).

The identification of Rudra-Śiva with Agni was basic to Vedic cosmogony. Agni was conceived of as the supreme god in whom all other gods reside as their one self. Agni was understood as *Prāṇa*. Agni the life principle or consciousness that permeates human beings, animals and plants. Agni is also the visible fire produced from fuel or sticks of wood in the altar of the sacrifice, but that is merely a symbol. Just as the fire in the kitchen is hidden in the wood or fuel, similarly the mysterious fire of life is encased within the body. That fire is really the god of sacrifice (*Yajñasya devam*), who is invoked for the fulfilment of the divine purpose of sacrifice. Wherever there is the presence of Agni all other gods come there in a team. This is the phenomenon that we witness in life in the case of the life-principle. Wherever there is this mysterious divine force of life all other vital powers known as *Devas* must be present. The ancient seers made Agni the symbol and basis of their metaphysical formulation. Immortal Agni has entered the mortals, and so the death-conquering principle of Rudra-Śiva is invoked in the entire Indian tradition.

THE ESOTERIC MEANING OF MAHĀDEVA

Śiva should be constantly kept in view in order to understand the elaborate mythology which gathered around his name and form. Agni is variously derived as the primeval principle, the first force that initiated consciousness and generation. For this reason it was called *Agri*, the primeval one, which in esoteric etymology became Agni. Whatever etymology may say

to this derivation, esoterically it was held to be quite valid as just a hint to lead us to the original nature of Agni as the first cause of all things. The great creator known as *Prajāpati* was himself conceived of as Agni for whom the fire-altar is built. The cosmos is the fire altar and human body also corresponds to it as the altar in which the fire of life is burning and kept constantly enkindled throughout the session of worldly existence. Agni is twofold, namely, hot and cold, the former being destructive and the latter benevolent ; so is the god Śiva in his terrible or *Bhairava* form dread-ful and disintegrating ; but in his form of Śiva is auspicious and sustainer of the life process. In his former aspect he becomes the destroyer of the sacrifice and roamed about with a begging bowl in his hand asking for food.

The life principle always wants food. If food is given it becomes pacified : Without food Agni becomes a horrible monster ready to consume the very body in which it is enshrined. This is an obvious truth experienced in each body or the physical abode of Agni. Agni without food or fuel becomes finally extinguished and black ashes, but if Agni is supplied with its daily food or offering it is converted into the radiant flame of life. Food is called Soma and that represents the female principle whereas Agni represents the Father principle. When Agni is satiated with Soma that is the normal order of *Yajña*. In Rudra-Śiva Mythology that is presented as *Ardhanārīśvara*, the half male and half female aspect of Śiva or the Śiva-Pārvatī form in iconography.

Śiva is said to be the god in Kailāśa. Anthropologists tell us that he was a mountain god. For the purpose of origins this may be partly right, but in the Vedas and Purāṇas an elaborate mythology was built in the conception of Rudra-Śiva and all these aspects require to be explained in order to understand the true nature of this deity. In the Ṛig Veda, Rudra is called the Father of the Maruts ; the hosts of Maruts are said to be the sons of Rudra (*Rudriyaḥ*). They are also the associates of Indra pointing to a conception in which Rudra and Indra, both prototypes of fire, were thought of as identical. In the Ṛig Veda Indra is the great

dancer (*Nṛtu* ; RV. VIII. 24. 12) as Śiva is the *Naṭarāja* in the Purāṇic mythology (*Nṛtyaśīla* ; Vāyu 63. 139 ; *Nityanṛtya*; ŚP, Koṭi-Rudra-Saṁhitā, 35.45-55 etc.). Śiva is the presiding deity of the mind. In *yoga* tradition he is the deity of the thousand-petalled lotus which has the mind. Indra also in one aspect is called *manasvān*, that is, the god of mind. Indra remains in conflict with the dragon Vṛitra-Ahi and Śiva is associated with serpents coiled on his body. Indra is spoken of as the Great Bull, Vṛishabha, the arch sprinkler of seed through the universe to fecundate the principle of motherhood ; the same bull who represents the god Kāmadeva was conquered by Śiva and made the leader of his hosts (*gaṇas*). The bull representing Kāmadeva signifies the principle of *ānanda* or pleasure which is the source of all creation. The poison in Śiva's throat represents the principle of death which belongs to the level of matter ; the pranic energy soiled in matter becomes blackened by death and falls a prey to disintegration. The throat is the symbol of *ākāśa* or infinite space where the poison is allowed to remain without effecting the mortal body.

There is the moon-god on Śiva's forehead and also Gaṅgā, the river, in his matted locks. The former represents the higher principle of intelligence and consciousness, a kind of subtle illumination which makes the highest or transcendent supreme divine descend to the level of its material manifestation. The latter, Gaṅgā, is the River of Life, the great flood descending from the immortal heaven to mortal earth. Śiva's matted locks represent the world or creation in all its modalities and endless forms. The matted locks are as vast and complicated as the affairs of the world. The river of Life permeated every nook and corner of the wordly creation. There the flood of pranic enegry remains concealed until it is released by the grace of Śiva and as the outcome of the principle of *tapas* invoked by human beings. The river is named Gaṅgā owing to her quality of movement, or the ceaseless flow from the beginning to the end. Time as a mighty stream which makes all bodies or material forms sanctified by its waters. Śiva's trident (*triśūla*) is the symbol of the triadic

pattern of creation. It is identified with Indra's thunderbolt, *Vajra*, which pulverizes every object or creature that comes into opposition to it. The three spikes of this irresistible weapon correspond to the three *Guṇas* or tensions which bring the cosmos into existence and make for its disruption when they are discordant.

The creation is informed at all points with the great Śakti or fiery energy of Śiva. The whole universe (Brahmāṇḍa) is created by the Śakti of Śiva. This energy is like an ocean filling all space. She is the goddess in a *maṇḍala* circle in which Śiva is the dancer. Śiva as dancer is performing his Great *Tāṇḍava* (LP., I 106. 25-28). The dancing movements represent the oscillations of Śakti or energy. On the two sides of the Brahmasūtra or middle vertical line the rhythmic movements are the steps of the dance. These deep stirrings are visible in the cosmos as mighty movements seen in the solar vibrations and gigantic movements of the constellations and comets. All that is the great dance of Śiva on a stupendous scale, but controlled from a fixed stable center. The more delicate rhythm on the spiritual side is compared to the dance of Pārvatī as *Lāsya*. Both are relative equiverings of the same power or Śakti, one in the male and the other in the female form; or one in the macrocosm and the other in the microcosm; or one in the giant stars and the other in the minute atom. Both Śiva and Pārvatī watch the dance steps of each other. These are both valid vibrations according to modern science, but the spiritual demonstrations of hidden power according to metaphysics. Perhaps in world symbolism there is nothing so inspiring and deeply pregnant with meaning as the idea of the dance of Śiva typifying the eternal rhythm and polarity at the root of the infinite creative process. The great dance of *Rudra* is demonstrated best in the movements of the sun. Sūrya is an exemplary of Naṭarāja Śiva. The balance and rhythm underlying both in their dance poses bespeak of the overriding rhythm which is the basis of cosmic creation. In each solar system there is an axis around which all the movements and regulations are arranged as proceeding from a fixed centre. God Śiva arranges his dance steps inside a

maṇḍala of fire flames and so does Sūrya, the Sun-God have his being inside the periphery of his thousand rays. It should be noted that Sūrya is not the dead matter orb of 92 or more elements but according to the Indian conception it is the visible form of the supreme divine or trancendent reality called Brahman. The author of the Yajurveda has clearly said that Sūrya is the symbol of Brahman, the light of Brahman is reflected in Sūrya. If we desire to have an idea of the effulgent lustre of Brahman, let us look for a moment at Sūrya, the sun god whose radiation is measureless and who is filling all space by his shining rays of light and heat up to the ends of the four directions. The full glory of Sūrya is beyond description. We may remember that in each orderly system of the world there is a central sun representing the charge of energy and power in that system. We have millions and millions of such dazzling solar units, all placed in one axial alignment and their totality would give some indication of the light and energy of Brahman. The same Brahman is the great god Śiva. The energy of his *tāṇḍava* dance is beyond the power of words. Constellations are splashed as dust in space by the movements of his feet. The impact and strings of energy released by his movements are beyond description both in terms of science and philosophy. His matted locks are dangled this side and that deriving their energised tendencies and dimensions from the depths of his spiritual being, the sun, moon and fire are said to be the triple eyes of the great god. Fire symbolizes the central energy whereas sun and moon its two fold extention as heat and cold, as light and darkness, or as the twin principles of *Prāṇa* and *apāna*, the in-breath and out-breath, the introvert and extrovert forces that ceaselessly impact against the centre that remains stable and unmoved. That venture is called *sthāṇu,* the *axis mundi* of the universe which is the same as the great Arrow piercing the axial centre of the earth, the atmospheric region and Sūrya so that the three stand in integration for all time to come. Time is threefold but eternity is one: it cannot be paralleled out. Howsoever one may wish to do so the eternal aspect of the Great God remains undifferentiated and one without a

second. Also in nature or manifestation it is three-fold. Śiva is the lord of yoga, Yogeśvara, who remains in eternal illumination and unbroken meditation. His *Sādhanā* of Yoga is uninterrupted and he is the great master whom the Yogins of all times and climes meditate upon. It is this form of the lord of Yogins that he becomes *Sthāṇu* or *liṅga* form. The exact meaning of *liṅga* is a symbol or invisible sign of the spiritual transcendence of Śiva. No one can ever conceive the full glory of greatness of the divine reality. The supreme *purusha* is forever in much greater accees of his glory or *Mahimā*. The cosmic creation being as vast as it may is the glory of the Lord, but the Lord is even greater than his manifested glory. The centre is much greater than the circumference whatever be the extension of the latter. It is a spiritual victory and sure forever so the transcedence of the great god is an assured fact of his existence.

The *liṅga* form implies the source of creativity that is invisible and unmanifested. Its aesthetical roundness on the top points to its transcendent nature, in fact the state of consciousness in which the several organs of action are yet uninvolved is indicated by the *liṅga* form. So the *liṅga* is thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, and thousand-armed. Its soul is universal and not yet individuated as happens in evolved human form. It is the state pre-existent, the image in the ideal circle there is the head and arm and feet at every point because the fiery energy from the centre rushes with equal force to every point of the periphery and carries with it the totality of the thousand rays ; but when the manifest form is evolved we come across a different situation of the various limbs in their proper places as the head, eyes, navel or feet. This is known as the manifested form of Śiva (*Purusha-vigraha*) in contradistinction to the *liṅga* form. The *liṅgam* is the ideal and the image is the concrete manifestation. Śiva is the Lord of all creatures and therefore called *Paśupati*. The word *Paśu* is significant meaning a *prāṇic* centre. Each *paśu* or living creature is an exemplar of the life principle. In their differentiated aspects the *Paśus* are numberless and Śiva as the archetypal divine principle of life is the Lord of them all. The bonds that

keep them together are known as *pāśa*. Unless these bonds are loosened both by the grace of the Lord and the endeavour of the devotee. no one can get rid of them and the soul that is soiled by matter remains bound in the snares of death. The five elements of gross matter are such a snare from which it is difficult to extricate oneself without the supreme laws of Salvation or deliverance becoming operative in the meshes of life with which we are all bound. This is known as *Śakrajāla* (same as *Indrajāla*) that is the mesh woven wound around the soul which is Indra.

Śiva is surrounded by his *gaṇas* or hosts and *pramathas* or deformed beings. They are just caricatures of the human spirit or cartoons of normal personality deformed and ugly beings in whom the grotesqueness of mind and matter becomes concretised. The world is full of such specimens and aberrations of the life-principle of *Prāṇa*. They are all subordinated to Śive as the lord of Fire or prāṇic energy ; Śiva is therefore called *Gaṇapati*. The fiery prāṇic principle when wedded to its counter part the soma or pārvatī represents perfection and beauty but the doformities of the Gaṇa hosts are specimens of ugliness that are the hungry spirits yearning for their share of soma, the immortal principle of beauty and spiritual satiation. The Gaṇas are controlled by their leader, Nandīśvara, the principle of bliss or *Ānanda*.

On the body of Śiva is besmeared dust or the ashes (*bhasma*). It signifies that fire is always accompanied by its ashes refuse or dross when fire burns some dross is left over as its surplus· When food is eaten and processed through the fire of digestive fire (*jaṭharāgni*) some kind of surplus is thrown out and then only the process of assimilation remains balanced with that of elimination. Brahman eats his food called *Brahmaudana* the boiled rice of *Brahman* and when this bowl of food is consumed and properly assimilated the surplus refuse that follows is the cosmos. The creation is conceived of as the portion that has separated as a draught from its source the Brahman ; it is known as *pravargya*, that is, the slice from the main cake or the store of food.

The great god Śiva is conceived of as the spirit in constant agitation darting with his bow and shooting shafts in all direc-

tions. He is like a hunter in the midst of a herd of deer whose arrows are raining on all members of the herd. This is the anger of the Lord against all creatures whom death is bound to take away. As such he is called the Hunter with a bow in hand, *pināka-pāṇi*. The individual *prāṇa* is the deer (*Mṛiga*) taking to flight at the slight of the inevitable huntsman but there is hardly an escape. The individual *Mṛiga* or animal is *Prāṇa* or individuated life principle ; it is the animal destined to be sacrificed at the altar of death ; Lord Śiva is the only hope and doer of salvation.

NEW POSITIONS OF WESTERN ORIENTALISM IN ACCOUNT WITH THE PURĀṆA STUDY

By

J. ROGER RIVIERE

[निबन्धेऽस्मिन् स्पेनदेशीयेन श्री'रिवरि'महाशयेन पौराणिकाध्ययनस्य विगतप्रवृत्तीनां भाविसम्भावनायाश्च विवेचनं कृतम्। सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासद्वारा कृतस्य पौराणिककार्यस्य प्रशंसनं कृत्वा प्राच्य-पाश्चात्त्य-सांस्कृतिकसम्बन्धस्थापनकार्ये तस्य उपयोगश्च प्रदर्शितः। अस्याः शताब्द्या आरम्भकाले तत्पूर्वकाले च पाश्चात्त्यविदुषां पुराणेषु अश्रद्धा आसीत्। ते पुराणसाहित्यं बालानामाख्यानं पुरातनकथानां सङ्ग्रहं वा अमन्यन्त। अतस्ते अस्य साहित्यस्य व्यापकरूपेणाध्ययनं न कृतवन्तः। पाश्चात्त्यविद्वांसो ग्रीकसभ्यतया अत्यधिकप्रभाविताः, तस्या एव पक्षपातिनश्च आसन्। तेषां भारतवर्षस्य वातावरणेन संस्कृत्या सभ्यतया च कोऽपि प्रत्यक्षः सम्बन्धो नासीत्। अतस्तेषां स्वभावत एव पुराणानामध्ययने सहजा प्रवृत्तिर्न जाता। अस्याः प्रवृत्तेः प्रमुखं कारणमासीत् हिन्दूविदुषामनुत्साहः ते पुराणानामध्ययनाय प्रचाराय च उत्साहं न प्रदर्शितवन्तः। किन्तु सम्प्रति भारतीया विद्वांसोऽपि कृतोद्यमा वर्तन्ते। मास्कोनगरे दिल्लीनगरे च सम्भूतयोः प्राच्यविद्याविदाम् अन्तरराष्ट्रीयाधिवेशनयोरिदं स्पष्टं बभूव यद्हिन्दूशोधकर्तारोऽपि समुत्सुका उद्योगशीलाश्च वर्तन्ते। किन्तु पाश्चात्त्यानां दृष्टौ पुराणानां यद् विकृतं रूपमासीत् तत् सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासकार्यैः प्रस्तावैश्च दूरीकृतम्। पौरस्त्येषु पाश्चात्त्येषु च जनेषु सांस्कृतिकसम्बन्धस्थापनाय च काशिराजन्यासः महत्त्वपूर्णं कार्यं करोति। हिन्दूशोधकर्तॄणामुत्साहेन परिश्रमेण च पुराणानामुचितं मूल्याङ्कनं भविष्यति। भारतीया अध्येतारः पाश्चात्त्याध्येतॄणामपेक्षया परम्पराया देशकालयोः संस्कृतभाषायाश्च अधिकविज्ञतरा भवन्ति। ग्रन्थानामर्थविबोधेऽपि ते भाषाज्ञानहेतुना अधिककुशला भवन्ति। अतस्तेषां पुराणसम्बन्धिकार्यं पुराणानामुचितमहत्त्वस्थापनाय समर्थं भविष्यति।]

The last International Congress of Orientalists have shown a deep change in the concepts and position of Western Orientalism

opposite to Orient, and this change rebounds on the present studies of Purāṇa in Western Indology. I have thought it interesting to go to the heart of the matter, now that in the Western World begin to develop the studies on Purāṇa.

It was enough to read what the specialized authors wrote at the beginning of this century to appreciate, at once, the opinion which they had then of these texts ; what Auguste Barth writes about Purāṇa in his "Religions of India" : "compilation in which prevails the legendary account, or concerned in rites and practices", "pious legends", "fables"...In the books published twenty years ago, the description of Purāṇa occupied still only ten or fifteen lines and very often their author had a general conceit of contempt and superiority, and judged very lightly this "uninteresting and popular production".

All this corresponds to a general public opinion in the Western World of last century; we should never forget the Hellenocentric position which ruled, as it still does, many of the Western studies on Indology. Werner Jager shows very clearly this position in his book *Paideia, Die Formuug des griechischen Menschen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1934), which can be abridged in this way, according to Michelangelo Guidi : "No enlargement of the historical horizon may modify in any way the fact that our history begins in the Greek people. It is evident that this history cannot take place in the whole world, but only among the Hellenocentric peoples, as they have been the only ones to take from the Greek people the conscious principle of the true *Kultur*." It is not very difficult to infer the practical consequences of this theoretical formula : "main and absolute value of antiquity as eternal and only source of the essential foundation of our culture, and, consequently, as training and educative power.". In this theory we can see very clearly that, Mediterranean antiquity is the only cultural source proper to the Western World ; of course, it is added that this source is the best and fittest to mankind in general.

During the last century and at the beginning of this one, Orientalists had no living contact with Orient ; the Asiatic

cultures were for them a subject of study coldly detailed like through a microscope. The concepts were analized like strange and sometimes aberrant products of human mind; the whole equilibrium, wisdom and spirit rested in Hellenism and the Mediterranean basin, in the Greek cultural zone. As Guidi the Orientalist writes, if anyone wanted to be complete, he should part from the mediterranean classical world, only source of balanced, logical and true knowledge, what J. Needham very accurately called "Europeocentrism".

As Anuar Abdel-Malek from Cairo emphasizes in "Diogenes" (n. 44, dec. 1963), "it is necessary to understand properly that, historically, we are in the age of European hegemony, and retrospective criticism should not forget this circumstance. The most remarkable works of the main schools of Orientalists in the Western World (France, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, Italy, Russia, U. S. A.), emanate from that tendency, from that vision of Orientalism". I do not mean that this contribution has not been fruitful and very useful; Y. A. Dagher admits that "this movement has contributed to awaken a national conscience in the different parts of Orient, and to hasten the movement of scientific and ideological rennaissance." But what Anuar Abdel-Malek emphasized very correctly, this work of Western Orientalists "was deeply saturated with postulates, methodological habits and historico-philosophical concepts which very often endangered the results and scientific value of works, and which, objectively, influenced a great many true learned Orientalists to support the politico-philosophical positions of the other group of scholars".

This second group which influenced Orientalists was composed by colonial public officials, politicians, military men and business men who only looked at the economical and soldierly power of their country for their colonialist aims; Orientalism had to help this imperialist penetration and setting up. The idea of Orient that Orientalists of the XIX century and beginnings of the XX had, was subconsciously saturated by the concept of Western absolute value and its superiority militarily, politically and culturally.

What then happend was that Orient had to be a working subject or object, a passive matter, never active; essentially, Eastern researh does not appear until second World War, philosophical and religious customs of Asiatic people "puerile, childish and without any scientific value", non European scholars do not possess any authority before their European or American colleagues. Their deep linguistic knowledge as well as their cultural training are disdained; historical philology of traditional orientalists masters totally European science and forgets completely the study of living and modern Eastern languages, of their literature, history and tradition. Tantrism was considered to be "magic", and the works by A. Avalon were not estimated for not following the accepted line within official Orientalism; the *Purāṇas* are "folk tales", "childish legends without an order and any value", due to the fact that Hindus "do not possess a historical sense". Until these last years, neither in universities nor in the official books of Western Indology appeared systematic studies on *Purāṇa*s.

This mentality was reflected in the European studies and essays on Asia and India, in particular; the more moderate ones had a fatherly manner and a hidden segregatianism. Although this mentality has changed since the second World War, it still occupies an excessive place in our days. The clearest evidence was an almost complete absence of Eastern research workers in international conversations and meetings. The last International Congresses of Orientalists (Moscow and New Delhi) happily offered the appearance of Hindu scholars and specialists; however, in the last Conversation on Muslim Sociology, held in Brussels (September 1961), there were twenty lecturers, but not even one Eastern scholar; one of the participants, J. Berque, protested against what he defined as "an anomally". It was really strange and incomprehensible to need to speak about *Eastern* societies without the attendance of any *Eastern* research worker in the Conversation!

The reader should not think that we are far from *Purāṇa*; everything I have said explains perfectly why these essential

texts are so little studied and not very well known by Western research workers. Once they were considered as "childish legends" and "uninteresting mythological stories", they were forgotten without listening to the voices of Hindu scholars and scientists who emphasised the important, unquestionable and deep value of purāṇic texts.

Things have changed now, a collaboration with scholars and research workers of the eastern countries has been considered as an objective necessity. In the U.S.A., in the U.S.S.R. there are now Hindu research workers and specialists who own chairs and means of work comparatively vast. So, the important job of All-India Kashiraj Trust in connection with research on ***Purāṇa*** texts has, for me, an unmatched cultural and scientific value in India, because it shows to Western Indologists that the cultural and scientific circles in India can and know how to introduce their research works as any other specialized centre in Europe or America, and that, from now onwards, Western Orientalism should consider very seriously Hindu works and studies. Research works on *Purāṇa* delivered by the All-India Kashiraj Trust have an enormous scientific value, and I think that no important book on Indology will be able to speak now of the ***Purāṇa*** without mentioning the studies and resolutions of the All-India Kashiraja Trust.

Indology will soon have a new and important material on this extraordinary and almost exhaustless source of Hindu culture. The Western World will have not only to admit, consider and study the scientific work of scholars and research workers of India, what should be obvious but will place this work as it deserves, in a privileged rank. The reason is very easy and it always puzzles me when I study it : these Hindu research workers find themselves in a position of evident privilege before foreigners, thanks to their knowledge of the language and even more for their inborn familiarity with the atmosphere which surrounds them, with all the cultural, religious and philosophical inheritance of India. Taking this argument to its last consequences, we can

affirm that it is reasonable to consider that the study of the ancient and contemporary cultural problems in India is now essentially proper to Hindu wise men and research workers; they will always be better trained in every aspect to understand and solve a linguistic problem, to interpret texts, to compare documents and history. They have accession to filings kept in temples, in private libraries, in public and private collections, and they generally know how to manage these sources; besides, they possess a psychological and sociological understanding of cultural life in India.

AN INQUIRY AFTER SOUTH-EASTERN ASIA IN THE PURĀNAS.

By

Om Prakash

[निबन्धेऽस्मिन् भारतवर्षस्य दक्षिणे 'दक्षिण-पूर्व-एशिया'प्रदेशे स्थितानां द्वीपानां पौराणिकसाक्ष्याधारेण इतरप्रमाणैश्च स्वरूपस्थित्यादि-विषयको विमर्शः प्रस्तुतः। अस्य प्रदेशस्यात्र 'हिन्दू-दक्षिण-पूर्व-एशिया' इति नाम प्रस्तुतम्। एषु द्वीपेषु साहित्य-वास्तु-कला-धार्मिक-परम्परादीनां ये अवशेषा उपलभ्यन्ते, ते तद्देशीयपरम्परायाः पौराणिक परम्परायाश्च अत्यन्तं साम्यं द्योतयन्ति। तेषु द्वीपेषु बहूनां पौराणिक-देवानां मूर्त्तयः प्राप्यन्ते, तथा च ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य जावानीभाषान्तर-मपि तत्रोपलभ्यते, येन तेषु द्वीपेषु पौराणिकसंस्कृत्याः प्रभावः स्पष्टं प्रतीयते।

पुराणेषु भूगोलस्य भुवनकोशस्य चापि वर्णनं विद्यते। भूगोल-वर्णने भारतीयप्रदेशाना तद्बहिर्वर्त्तिनां च प्रदेशानां वर्णनं वर्त्तते। अनेन वर्णनेन ज्ञायते यत् पुराणेषु वर्णितः भारतदेशः आधुनिक-भारतापेक्षया विस्तृततर आसीत्। साम्प्रतं यद् 'बृहत्तरभारतम्' इति ज्ञायते, पुराणेषु तद् 'भारतवर्षम्' इत्येव कथितम्।

अत्र लेखे मत्स्यवायुगरुडनारदीयादिपुराणानाम् आधारेण समुद्रान्तरितानां भारतवर्षसमीपवर्त्तिनां दक्षिणद्वीपानां वर्णनं प्रस्तुतम्। पौराणिकवर्णनस्य मजूमदारमहोदयाना 'हिन्दूकोलोनीज़' इति ग्रन्थे वर्त्तमानेन वर्णनेन समर्थनं कृतम्। अत्र अङ्ग-शङ्ख-यम-मलयादीनां द्वीपानां विवेचनं कृतम्। अन्येषामपि द्वीपानाम् उल्लेखोऽत्र कृतः। इमानि द्वीपानि रत्नधनादिपूर्णानि प्रोक्तानि। अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे तत्स्थानीयपरम्पराप्रसिद्धानाम् आख्यानानामपि उल्लेखः कृतः। तत्र द्वीपवर्णनप्रसङ्गे नारदीयपुराणे उपलब्धस्य काष्ठिलोपाख्यानस्य चापि निर्देशः कृतः। एतस्य साम्यं च चीनदेशीयपरम्परया सह प्रदर्शितम्।]

The remains of the literature, the sculpture and the religion prevalent in Hindu South-east Asia, all vouch for a close relation between the traditional and religious details of that country and the Purāṇas. Not to speak of the Mahābhārata and the

Rāmāyaṇa—the works of Semi-historical character much on the line of the Purāṇas, the Brahmāṇda-Purāṇa itself has been reproduced in its Indo-Javanese version[1]. Images of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandin, Agastya, Nandīśvara, Brahmā, Skanda, Varāha etc. all but Purāṇic deities have been recovered from different region of south-east Asia e.g. Kombeng[2] cave near Maura Kanām in Bornio. It is thus highly probable that the Purāṇas may also yield some important informations bearing on the history and geography of that country but in the treatment of the history of South-east Asia the Purāṇas are the least represented for want of proper study with that end in view. It is proposed, therefore, to present in a systematic way the historico-geographical data bearing on south-east Asia the Purāṇas contain, in this paper, in so far as the author could gather them together.

Most of the Purāṇas contain one full section consisting of several chapters dealing with the geography of the earth of which they have a unique conception[3] mixed with facts and mythology. The relevant data which seems to contain a kernel of fact and which gets some externel corroboration also assumes itself into two different categories. The first is represented by Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Viṣṇu, Vāyu and Garuḍa etc. and the second one represented chiefly by the Vāyu-Purāṇa. Both categories consist of the description or enumeration of certain Dvīpas mutually differentiated for inaccessiability by the salt-water of the sea. But we are justified in regarding them as two different categories on the criterion that the first one is described as consisting of nine dvīpas within Bhāratavarsha as the nine division (भेदान्) of Bhāratavarsha, while the second one is expressly stated to contain dvīpas outside Bhāratavarsha to the south of it and differentiated by sea.

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1. R.C. Majumdar : *Hindu Colonies* (1963) p. 95.

2. Ibid, p. 95.

3. The Purāṇas generally take the view of earth as consisting of seven concentric circles of land and ocean of different kinds of liquid e.g. salt, water, sugar, syrup, curd; purified butter and milk. All the dvīpas except some portion of the central one viz. the Jambūdvīpa, are mythological and of the nature of fairy land.

Here it may be asked as to how the dvīpas (of first category) remaining within Bhāratavarsha as its different divisions can be differentiated by sea as the territory of Bhāratavarsha, as it is generally known, now consists of no inland sea. But it should be borne in mind that the connotation of Bhāratavarsha is by no means settled. It may be that in those days of intense commercial and cultural contact Bhāratavarsha might have denoted what is known now as greater India and not merely the continent of Indo-Pakistan.

Now what is the implication of the second category when the dvīpas are already included within Bhāratavarsha? May be another question. It may be surmised, however, that here the degree of Indianization is perhaps implied as will be seen in the description of general cultural conditions of the *dvīpas* of this category. Thus it is said in the Vāyu-Purāṇa that 'full of men and women, happy and spacious, there are hundreds of thousands of settlements established inside the mountains. These are either connected with each other or have only one gate. The people grow long beards and moustaches and are like the black-clouds in their complexion. The longest span of their life is eighty years. They, like monkeys, are eaters of roots and fruits and followers of the indiscriminate law of the cattle, being ignorant of purity and discipline. The region is full of men like these.[1]

To begin with the first category it is said at one place[2] that the nine divisions (भेदान्) of Bhāratavarsha, being differentiated from one another by sea (समुद्रान्तरिताः) are mutually inaccessible. This definition of the situation of these *dvīpas* reminds one of south-eastern Asian islands and their geographical situations at once. These *dvīpas* as enumerated in the same continuation are Indradvīpa, Kaserumān, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhas-

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1. Vāyu. I. 48. 6-10.
2. Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa I. 16.8-10
   cf. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 59. 5-7
   cf. Viṣṇu, II. 3. 6-8 (Gitapress)
   cf. Vāyu, I. 45. 78-80
   See also Matsya, Chap. 121.

timān, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gandharvadvīpa, Varuṇadvīpa and the ninth being this one i.e. Bhāratavarsha proper, which is surrounded by the ocean and is thousand *yojanas* from north to south But the Garuḍa-Purāṇa[1] in its *Āchārakhaṇḍa* substitutes Kaṭāha and Siṁhala for Gandharvadvīpa and Saumya dvīpa respectively. And strangely enough both the names are familiar to us ; while Siṁhala is the ancient known name for Ceylon, Kaṭāha appears among the names of the ten and eleven States that Rajendra Chola conquered during his overseas expedition which he concluded by capturing Kaṭāha. R. C. Majumdar plausibly identifies it with Kadar or Kedda in Malaya peninsula which is definitely included in south-east Asia and bears traces of Hindu colonization.[2] If this indication be genuine we may better identify the Gandharvadvīpa of other Purāṇas with Malaya peninsula. But unfortunately neither we have any indication like this in case of other dvīpas enumerated above nor the Purāṇas accord any detailed treatment of these dvīpas so as to enable us to locate them precisely. Suffice it, nevertheless, to say that the ancient Indians weie not absolutely ignorant of the geography of south-east Asia which (at least some part of which) they ragrded as forming a part of Bhāratavarsha. The lack of detailed description of these islands may probably be due to the corrupt text and interpolation so frequent in the Purāṇas.

Unlike the dvīpas of first category the treatment of those included in the second category is more elaborate. To the south of Bhāratavarsha, it is said at one place,[3] some ten thousand *yojanas* beyond the great ocean (समतीत्य महार्णवं) there is a land which is three thousand *yojanas* in extent. Twenty, thirty, fifty, sixty, eighty, hundred and thousand *yojanas* in extent, there are thousands of small islands (क्षुद्रद्वीपाः सहस्रशः) besides the Barhiṇa

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1. नागद्वीपः कटाहश्च सिंहलो वारुणस्तथा ।
अयं तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंवृतः ॥

Garuḍa-Purāṇa I (आ.ख). 55-5

2 Hindu Colonies, pp. 38-39.

3, Vāyu, I. 48, 1-2.

dvīpa and its different divisions. Beside Jambūdvīpa, there are six other dvīpas which are reputed as the mines of various jewels on the earth. These are Aṅga-dvīpa, Yama-dvīpa, Malayadvīpa,[1] Śaṅkha-dvīpa, Kuśa-dvīpa and Varāha-dvīpa. In this way, so the account is concluded, are described the affiliated islands (अनु द्वीपाः) which are greatly extant to the south of Bhārata dvīpa country (भारतद्वीपदेश). This one country i.e. Bhāratavarsha is said to consist of many islands differentiated and disected by the water of the sea.

एवं षडेते कथिता अनुद्वीपाः समन्ततः ।
भारतद्वीपदेशो वै दक्षिणे बहुविस्तरः ॥
एवमेकमिदं वर्षं बहुद्वीपमिहोच्यते ।
समुद्रजलसम्भिन्नं खण्डखण्डीकृतं स्मृतम् ॥[2]

It is not clear, however, from the extracts quoted above as to what do the expressions to the south of Bhāratavarsha some ten thousand *yojanas* beyond the great ocean there is a land which is three thousand *yojanas* in extent and "Barhiṇadvīpa besides which there are thousands of small islands" precisely mean. Do they signify the insular and continental divisions of south-east Asia? We have, as a matter of fact, no data at our disposal to answer the above question, but the possibility of its being so, at the same time be limited.

Though not altogether free from difficulties and discrepancies we are fortunate in having some detailed informations about the geography both physical and human of the most of the individual islands enumerated in the list of the second category. Some new islands which are not in the enumerated list are described in detail, while others which are in the list, are overlooked. Let us notice, therefore, the treatment of the individual dvīpas as found in the Purāṇas as also the resemblance they reflect with the known native or Chinese traditions about the

1. Ibid, I. 48. 11-14.
2. Ibid, I. 48. 42-43.

history or geography of some or the other countries of south-east Asia.

1. *Aṅga Dvīpa*:

It is full of many associations (संघ). It is of great extent and full of various *mlechchha-gaṇas*. There are mines of gold and coal in the ground. With rivers, mountains and forests it is chequered and is surrounded by the ocean. There is a mountain Chandragiri by name full of many falls and caves animated by various creatures. In the midst of Nāgadesha through which that great mountain stretches there are the abodes of the crores of the Nāgas upto the sea-shore[1].

2. *Śaṅkha-Dvīpa* :

There is a kingdom established in the Śankhadvīpa, hundred yojanas in extent and full of various mlechchha gaṇas. There is a mountain Śaṅkhagiri by name which is white like the conch shell and full of many bounteous mines of jewels exploited by various people. From this mount emerges the river Mahāpuṇyā and on this the Nāgarāja-Śaṅkhamukha has made his abode.[2]

It is interesting to note that the native tradition prevalent in Kambuja associates the first Hindu colonist Kambu-Svāyambhuva with a Nāgarāja equipped with magical powers through which he converted the dreary desert into a pleasant country to be ruled by Kambu Svāyambhuva. The extract as quoted by R. C. Majumdar is as follows :

"In the dim past Combodia was a desert of sand and rocks. One day Kambu-Svāyambhuva, the king of Āryadesha, found himself in this dreary landscape. The death of his wife Merā, whom the great god Śiva himself gave to him made him disconsolate and he left his country in order to die in the wildest desert he could find. Having reached Combodia he entered into a grotto. To his horror Kambu found himself in the midst of a

1. Ibid, I. 48. 15-18.
2. Ibid I. 48. 31-33.

large number of huge, many headed snakes whose piercing eyes were turned towards him. Kambu, however, boldly unsheathed his sword and advanced towards the biggest snake. To the utter amazement of Kambu, the Snake spoke in a human voice and asked his whereabouts. On hearing Kambu's story the serpent said : 'Your name is unknown to me, stranger, but you spoke of Śiva and Śiva is my king, as I am *the king of Nāgas*, the great snakes. You seem to be courageous too ; therefore, abide with us in this land you have chosen and end your grief.' Kambu remained and came to the like of the Nāgas who could take human shape. Several years later he married the Nāga King's daughter. The king of the Nāgas possessed magic power and turned the arid land in a beautiful country like that of Āryadesha. Kambu ruled over the land and the kingdom came to be called after him Kambuja."[1]

Although nothing definite can be deduced from these mere reflectory resemblances but some sort of association of Śaṅkha and Aṅgadvīpas with Cambodia is, nevertheless, indicated.

3. *Yama-Dvīpa* :

It is also rich in mines. There is a mountain Dyutimān by name which is decked with ores and which is the source of rivers and gold.[2]

4. *Malaya Dvīpa* :

It is also likewise prosperous. It is the mine of Maṇis and Jewels, of gold, Chandan-wood and seas. Full of various Gaṇas of mlechchhas, it is decorated with rivers and mountains. There is a mountain called Malaya which is the mine of silver and it is also called Mahāmalaya. The other mountain is Manda by name and is extent on the earth. There is the temple of Agastya venerated by gods and men alike on it. There are, moreover Āśramas associated with bowers grass and vegetation on the golden foothills of the mount Malaya. Overflowing with various kinds of flowers

1. Hindu Colonies, pp. 183.
2. Vāyu, I. 48.9.

and fruit it surpases even the Heaven which descends there on every fortnight.[1]

The temple of Agastya referred to above is in striking consonance with what is known of the cults of south-east Asia. The cult of Agastya is one of the peculiar cults of that country. Besides the literary allusions[2] to the cult of Agastya iconic representations of Agastya along with those of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, Nadīśvara, Brahmā, Skanda and Mahākāla have been recovered from several remains such as Komberg cave near Maura Kanam in Bornio.[3] His temple in Malaya peninsula as such is by no means an improbable statement and we may better identify Malaya-dvīpa with Malaya peninsula as also with Kaṭāha and Gandharva dvīpas of the first category.

The Garuḍa-Puraṇa as we have seen above, replaces Gandharva and Saumya dvīpas of the first category with those of Kaṭāha and Siṁhala. Strangely enough the next dvīpa described after Malaya is not Śaṅkha dvīpa which follows it in the list enumerated above unless we suppose the intervening description of Laṅkā as the continuation of Malaya dvīpa. But the supposition is something un-natural and the description of Laṅkā must be separated even at the cost of making the number of dvīpas seven thereby as against six stated in the concluding verse, as the Kumuda dvīpa is such an insertion which can neither be regarded as the continuation of some nor is enumerated in the list.

5. *Laṅkā or Siṁhala*

On the Trikūṭa hills bedecked with many ores, heights of several yojanas,varigated peaks and recesse, there is a city called Laṅkā, which has golden ramparts and Toraṇas and is chequered with turrets and sloping or matched roofs. It is garlanded by massions and palaces, is hundred *yojanas* in length and thirty *yojanas* in width and remains always happy and inspired. This

1. Ibid. I. 48. 20-25
2. Hindu Colonies, p. 95. There is a work Agastyaparva in Indo-Javanese literature.
3. Ibid. pp. 25, 98.

Mahāpurī being the abode of sensuous demons is inaccessible for human beings. On the east of this dvīpa at the shore of the sea there is a great temple of śiva called Gokarṇa.[1]

6. *Kumuda Dvīpa* :

There is again a Kumuda dvīpa decorated with various types of virtuous things. Full of many villages it is the fortunate mine of many jewels. Here is propitiated Kumudā, a sister of Mahādeva famous for her repelling of evil spirits.[2]

Varāha Dvīpa :

In the Varāha dvīpa which is full of many Mlechchha gaṇas, many jātis, many settlements and cities, riches and food-grains, righteous people, and which is happy with rivers, mountains, forests, flowers and fruits there is a mountain called Varāha, beautified by many recesses, caves and falls There emerges out of it a great river Vārāhī by name. Viṣṇu is worshipped here by the holy Brāhmaṇas in his Varāha form.[3] It is interesting to note that the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu is not only known to the literature and tradition of south-east Asia but also is represented in its iconic form.[4]

"We have thus described the six minor *dvīpas* entirely which extend a great deal to the south of Bhāratadvīpa country", so concludes the account of Vāyu-purāṇa.[5]

The regular feature of all these dvīpas is their richness in gold, jewels and other precious metals. This feature accords well with the numerous adventureous stories of the jātakas Brihatkathā and native legends all pointing to the singular fact that the ambition of acquiring stupendous wealth in utter frustrations by exploring seal-girdled solitudes of wealth, braving shipwrecks, difficult paths, biting encounters with climates and the savage peoples was the chief force that attracted colonists

1. Vāyu, I. 48. 26-30
2. Ibid, I. 48. 34-35.
3. Ibid, I. 48. 36-40.
4. Hindu Colonies, p. 97.
5. Vāyu, I. 48. 41.

from India to south-east Asia. After these unknown lands were explored the trial of luck by exposing oneself to all kinds of risks of sea and strange land for the blind search of gold and precious stones was replaced by the surer commercial bargain. Whether the Purāṇas are also acquainted with such adventurous stories? It appears that in some of their earlier versions which are lost to us they certainly were, and enough remains even now to show their survivals. Thus of the various kinds of difficult 'paths' e.g. Vetrapatha, Ajāpatha, Jaṇṇupatha, Śaṅkupatha and Chhatrapatha described in the Sanudāsa story of Bṛhatkathā the Matsya-purāṇa alludes to the countries of Śaṅku and Vetrapathas and adds a third one not found in the story, viz. Kharapatha.[1] Explaining the Vetrapatha Dr. Majumdar says "they climb up to the top by catching hold of creapers (Vetra)."[2] About Śaṅkupatha the same writer observes, "An iron hook, attached to a rope of skin, is thrown up till the hook is fixed up in the mountain. Having climbed up the rope, the man makes hole on the hill side with a diamond-tipped iron instrument, and fixes a spear. Having caught hold of this he detaches the hook and throws it aloft again, till it is again fixed up in the mountain. Then he ties the rope to the spear and having caught hold of the rope with one hand strikes it by hammer with the other, till the spear is detached. Then he climbes up again fixes the spear, and repeats the process till he ascends the top of the hill."[3] What is more convincing of the minute acquaintance of the early Purāṇas now lost to us of the affairs of south-east Asia is the survival of the Kauṇḍinya legend in the Achārakhaṇḍa of the Nāradīya-Purāṇa. The legend, though placed in a very different perspective of Ekādaśīvrata Māhātmya agrees in some important details with the Chinese version of the same legend. The summary of that legend known as Kāṣṭhīlopākhyana inserted into the larger narrative of Rukmāṅgada-Mohinī Kathā may be given below.[4]

1. Matsya, 121. 56 "तथा खरपथान्देशान्वेत्रशङ्कुपथानपि"
2. Hindu Colonies, p. 10.
3. Ibid, p. 11
4. Nāradīya Purāṇa II. 27 verse 43 onward upto Chapter 30.

A Kāshṭhila that was exposed by the tearing of the wood by the father of Sandhyāvatī, the queen of Rukmāṅgada and the mother of Dharmāṅgada, was saved from the crow by Sandhyāvatī. It spoke thus, in human voice: Sandhyāvāti I was the daughter of Muni Sumantu and the wife of Kanuḍinya[1] in my previous birth. I used to live, at Kānyakubja with my father, mother and friends. I was given in marriage to a Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya the son of a Vedic Brāhmaṇa. In course of time, however, my father-in-law expired and after performing his burrial rites one day my husband went to the royal palace by way of curiosity. There he saw beautiful prostitutes entering the house of the king. Of them he persuaded two by giving plenty of wealth to come and reside with him in his own house. Within three years all the wealth that my husband got was drained out and he became pennyless. He then asked for my ornaments but I evading his request went to the house of my father. Then he started giving to prostitutes by selling his properties which also ended. Being thus helpless he disposed of for a little cost the farms and food-grains he had and went to the sea and embarking upon a boat my husband entered the great ocean.[2] Going a long way inside the curious sea some hundred yojanas by the support of the wind the boat was wrecked and its sailer dead.[3] My husband by a lucky chance caught hold of a big wooden block and was brought by the wind and the good action of his previous birth to the foot of a mountain decked with bejeweled peaks, several fountains and birds. Seeing that abnormal mountain he leaving aside the boat of wooden block

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1. सुमंतनाम्नो हि मुनेः सर्वज्ञस्य सुताऽभवम् ।
पूर्वजन्मनि पत्नी च कौण्डिन्यस्य शुभानने ॥
पित्रा दत्ता ततश्चाहं कौण्डिन्याय महात्मने ।
कुलीनाय सरूपाय स्त्रीसंगरहिताय च ॥ II. 27.51-53.

2. स्वल्पमूल्येन विक्रीय गतो नदनदीपतिम् ।
नावमारुह्य मे भर्ता विवेशान्तरमहोदधे ॥

3. प्रभंजनवशं प्राप्ता सा नौका शतयोजनम् ।
गता विशीर्णतां तत्र मृतास्ते नावमाश्रिताः ॥ Ibid. II. 67.

ascended it being eager of wealth.[1] After satisfying his hunger and thırst he slept deeply under the dense shadow of a Śāla tree untıll it was evening. In the evening a Rākshasa came by air thundering like cloud with a young girl clapped in his arms like Sītā by Rāvaṇa. The unfortunate girl was the daughter of the king of Kāshī, Ratnāvatī by name whom the Rākshasa kidnapped from the royal palace. The Rākshas entered a cave full of jewels, food and drinks of various sorts and released the girl. The wife of the Rākshasa suspectıng that he brought the girl for marriage and not being satisfied with the pretence of the Rākshas that he brought her for her (Rākshasī's) food as a brahman lying outside the cave under a tree would serve for his food, went to the Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya and instigated him to kill her husband and extend his love for her. Ratnavalı on the other hand, at the verge of her seducatıon by the Rākshas succeeded ın persuading the lustful demon to brıng the Brāhmaṇa to perform their marrıage rıte so that theır love may be legalızed. But when the Rākshasa came to bring Kauṇḍınya to the cave Kauṇḍiya killed him with a weapon gıven to him by the Rākshasī. Afterwards he came, lead by the Rākshasī to the cave where Ratnāvallī was, and dedicating all the wealth of the cave to him for sale[2] at will the Rākshasī asked for the love of the Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa, however, expressed his reluctance to place his faith upon one who can kill even her husband.[3] Fınally, however, the Rākshasī

1. मत्पतिर्दैवयोगेन दीर्घं काष्ठं समाश्रितः ।
वायुना नीयमानोऽसौ प्राचीनेन स्वकर्मणा ॥
आससादाचलं देवि रत्नश्रृङ्गविभूषितम् ।
बहुनिर्झरणोपेतं बहुपक्षिसमन्वितम् ॥
बहुवृक्षैः समाकीर्णं नानापुष्पफलोपगैः ।
तं दृष्टवा पर्वतं द्विव्यं त्यक्त्वा नौकाष्ठमद्भुतम् ।
आरुरोह मुदायुक्तो वित्तकांक्षी सुलोचने ॥ Naradiya. II. 27. 69-71

2. इमानि तव रत्नानि शयनान्यासनानि च
मया सह समस्तानि विक्रीणस्व निजेच्छया ॥ Nāradiya. II. 28.15.

3. उवाच राक्षसीं तां तु सशङ्को मधुरं वचः ।
सुभगे नीतिशास्त्रेषु विश्वस्तव्या न योषितः ॥ Ibid. II. 28.19.
कौमारं या पति हन्ति सा कथं मां न हिंससे ॥

assumed the form of a female elephant and keeping all the wealth of the cave and kauṇḍinya and Ratnāvalī on her back went to Kāshī where both Ratnāvalī with the consent of his father and a large part of the royal wealth as dowery and the Rākshasī were married by the Brāhmaṇa Kauṇḍinya who now began to live at Mahodayapura.[1] Knowing the tale of her husband the first wife of Kauṇḍiya also came and was warmly welcomed by her husband. But since she decieved her husband by not giving her ornaments at his request and since she left him in his poverty; it is demonstrated, she was born as a Kāṣhṭhilā i.e. wood-worm to undergo many such mean births again for many times as the divine punishment of the unfaithful wife like her.

We are least concerned here with the moral or the perspective of the story, what is of prime concern for us is the remote resemblance of the theme of the story with that of the Chinese version of Kauṇḍinya legend which is known so far to have no parallel in the west Indian literature except the name of Kauṇḍinya. It is described thus in the words of R. C. Majumdar:

"The Sovoreign of Fu-nan was originally female called Lieu-ye. There was a person called Huen-Chen (Kauṇḍinya) of Ho-fu. He was a staunch devotee of a Brahmanical god who was pleased with his piety. He dreamt that the god gave him a divine bow and asked him to take to sea in a travelling vessel. In the morning he went to the temple of the God and found a bow. Then he embarked on the trading vessel and the God changed the course of wind in such a manner that he came to Fu-nan. Lieu-ye came in a boat to plunder the vessel. Huen-chen (Kauṇḍinya) raised his bow and shot an arrow which pierced through the queen's boat from one side to another. The queen was overtaken with fear and submitted to him.....,......The same story is repeated in later chinese text," so writes Dr. R. C. Majumdar, in some cases with additional details such as the marriage between Hien-Chen (Kauṇḍinya) and Lieu-Ye."[2] He

1. जग्मुर्महोदयपुरं यत्र तिष्ठति मे पतिः ॥ Ibid. II. 28.69.
2. Hindu Colonies. p. 177.

also seems to suggest some south Indian affiliation in this event if it was historical by noticing the 'Brāhmaṇas of Kauṇḍinya Gotra mentioned in an inscription of Mysore belonging probably to the second Century AD.[1] But now in view of the express mention of Kānyakubja and Kāshī in the Purāṇa version of Kauṇḍinya legend any such belief if entertained should be given up. The description of Lieu-ye as 'clad only in sun beams' in some Chinese versions may again justify the Purāṇic appelation of Rākshasī for her substitute in the Purāṇic legend.

From what has been said above it can be asserted with due weight that it is no use saying that the Purāṇas contain no information regarding South-east Asia. The data they contain may be corrupt, twisted and discrepent but they do contain it and the defects may be overcome only by more and more work and critical study which is denied to them often by outright rejection of their value in this respect. Would the vague and inconsistent guess work of detecting the Indian association of the proper name Kauṇḍinya of the Chinese legend with the gotra-name Kauṇḍinya mentioned in the late inscriptions of Mysore,[2] have ever ended if the express story, of Nāradīya Purāṇa with the details of the event would have been allowed to rest in oblivion ?

1. Ibid, p. 177
2. Hindu Colonies p. 177.

कामक्रोधादीनां जयोपायाः

क्षमया क्रोधमुच्छिन्द्यात् कामं संकल्पवर्जनात् ।
सत्त्वसंसेवनाद् धीरो निद्रामुच्छेत्तुमर्हति ॥

अप्रमादाद् भयं रक्षेद् रक्षेत् क्षेत्रं च संविदम् ।
इच्छां द्वेषं च कामं च धैर्येण विनिवर्त्तयेत् ॥

निद्रां च प्रतिभां चैव ज्ञानाभ्यासेन तत्त्ववित् ।
उपद्रवांस्तथा योगी हितजीर्णमिताशनात् ॥

लोभं मोहं च संतोषाद् विषयांस्तत्त्वदर्शनात् ।
अनुक्रोशादधर्मं च जयेद् धर्ममुपेक्षया ॥

आयत्या च जयेदाशां सामर्थ्यं सङ्गवर्जनात् ।
अनित्यत्वेन च स्नेहं क्षुधां योगेन पण्डितः ॥

कारुण्येनात्मनात्मानं तृष्णां च परितोषतः ।
उत्थानेन जयेत् तन्द्रां वितर्कं निश्चयाज्जयेत् ।
मौनेन बहुभाषां च शौर्येण च भयं जयेत् ॥

(ब्रह्मपुराणम्, आनन्दा०, २३७.४४-५०)

PURĀṆAS AND THEIR REFERENCING

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[साम्प्रतं पुराणानामध्ययने प्राच्यविद्या-विद्वांसः सर्वत्र प्रयत्नशीला वर्त्तन्ते, पुराणविषयका बहवो निबन्धाः प्राच्यविद्यापत्रिकासु प्रकाश्यन्ते च। तेषु निबन्धेषु पुराणोद्धरणानि पुराण-स्थलनिर्देशाश्च प्राचुर्येण प्रदीयन्ते। प्रस्तुतनिबन्धे पुराणवाङ्मयस्य संक्षेपतः पर्यालोचनं कृत्वा वर्त्तमान-पुराणमुद्रितग्रन्थानां परिचयपुरस्सरं च पुराणस्थल-निर्देशपद्धतिविषये विचारोऽत्रोपस्थाप्यते।]

In view of the growing importance of the Purāṇas and the Purāṇic study it may be useful to suggest a tentative scheme of Purāṇic referencing, which may be helpful in giving Purāṇa-references in Purāṇic studies and papers. As preliminary to this proposed scheme of Purāṇa referencing it is also necessary to give here first a brief review of the Purāṇas. A detailed review of the Purāṇas requires much more space than what is available here; but luckily the Purāṇic literature has been elaborately reviewed by such eminent and well-known scholars of Indology as H. H. Wilson (in the Preface to his *English Translation of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa,* London, 1840, republished Calcutta, 1961), F. E. Pargiter (in the Introduction and Appendix to his '*Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age,*' Oxford, 1913, and in his '*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*' Oxford, 1922, first six chapters), M. Winternitz (in his '*History of Indian Literature*' Part I, chapters on the Purāṇas), Willibald Kirfel (in the Introduction [*Einleitung*] to his '*Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa*', Leiden, 1927, and also in the Introduction to his '*Das Purāṇa vom Weltgebäude*' [*Bhuvanavinyāsa*], Bonn, 1954), Haraprasāda Śāstrī (in the Preface to '*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*' Vol. V, Calcutta, 1928), P. V. Kane (in his '*History of Dharma-Śāstra*', Vol V, Part II, Poona 1962, Section IV), R. C.

Hazra (in his '*Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*', Pub. Dacca University, 1940, and in his '*Studies in the Upapurāṇas*', Calcutta, Vol. I, 1958, Vol. II. 1963), A.D. Pusalker (in his '*Studies in Epics and Purāṇas of India*', Bombay, 1955), Pt. Jwālā Prasāda Miśra (in his '*Aṣṭādaśa Purāṇa Darpaṇa*' (Hindi), Veṅkteśvara Press, Bombay, Saṁvat 1993, A. D. 1936) and others.*

Here, therefore, only a very brief review of the Purāṇas is proposed to be given as preliminary to the scheme of Purāṇa-referencing. For this review and the scheme of referencing only the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, and the Viṣṇudharmottara, the Harivaṁśa, the Devī-Bhāgavata and the Śiva-Purāṇa have been taken here.

The present article is divided into the following sections :

1. Origin of the Purāṇas—two traditions.
2. Evolution and Growth of the Purāṇas.
3. Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas—
   (a) Purāṇas
   (b) Upapurāṇas
   (c) Distinction between Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas
   (d) Names of the 18 Upapurāṇas.
4. Mahāpurāṇas—
   (a) Authorship
   (b) Number
   (c) Names
   (d) Serial order
   (e) Classification of the Mahāpurāṇas
   (f) Division of their text
   (g) Extent of their text

(As given in the Purāṇas).

* These are the works, besides the texts of the Purāṇas, which I have specially consulted in preparing this study, for which I am grateful to these authors. For further bibliography on the Purāṇas see P. V. Kane, H. Dh., V. II, pp. 843 ff., and R.C. Hazra: Studies in the Upapurāṇas' Vol. I., pp. 361 ff.

5. Present vulgate texts of the Purāṇas—
   (a) Printed editions of the Purāṇas.
   (b) Division and extent of their text.
6. Abbreviations of the names of the Purāṇas.
7. A scheme of Purāṇa-referencing.

1. Origin of the Purāṇas—two traditions

The Purāṇas give the following two traditions of their origin:—

(a) *The one original Purāṇa of divine origin* :

The tradition which ascribes a divine authorship to the Purāṇa is found mentioned in the ancient Vedic literature[1] as well as in the Purāṇas.[2]

The Purāṇa is regarded as the fifth Veda (as in Chā. Up. VII.1.2) or simply a Veda (as in Śat. Br. XIII. 4.3.13 : 'पुराणं वेदः') or the Purāṇa-Veda (as in Vāyu-P., Veṅkt., I. 1. 15). Hence like the Veda the Purāṇa is also regarded as originated from the *Ucchiṣṭa*[3] (the Remainder ; i. e. the Absolute Brahman, the sole cause of the universe, which remains after the destruction or the negation of the universe), or the *Mahābhūta* (the Great Being)[4], or *Brahmā*[5].

1. *Cf.* Atharva-Veda, XI. 7. 24 :—
   'ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।
   उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिवि श्रितः ॥'
   Br. Ār. Up. II. 4.10 .—
   'अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यद् ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं ......'
2. *Cf.* Matsya-Purāṇa 4. 3-4 :—
   पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
   नित्यं शब्दमयं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥
   अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ।
   (*Cf.* also Matsya 53.3 ; Vāyu I. 1.54 ; Bḍ I. 1.40 ; Padma, Sṛṣṭi-Kh., 1.45 ; Mārk. 45-20 ; Brahma, Ān. edn., 161-27 ; etc.).
3. *Cf.* AV. XI. 7.24, quoted in fn. 1 above. For the explanation of the word '*Ucchiṣṭa*' see Sāyaṇa on the Ucchiṣṭa Sūkta of AV (X. 4. 1-3). 'दृश्यप्रपञ्चस्य निषेधात् ऊर्ध्वं तदवधित्वेन शिष्यते अवशिष्यते इत्युच्छिष्टं बाधावधित्वेन शिष्यमाणं परं ब्रह्म ।'
4. See Br. Ār. Up. II. 4.10, quoted in fn. 1 above.
5. See fn. 2 above.

This first single Purāṇa, which originated from the *fifth* mouth of Brahmā[6], consisted of a hundred crores of ślokas; it is abridged by Vyāsa into the four lacs of ślokas in every Dvāpara, and is then divided by him into the eighteen Purāṇas in this world of the mortals; in the world of the gods, however, the Purāṇa is still of a hundred crores of ślokas.[7] This divine origin of the Purāṇas is regarded as purely mythical by modern scholars.[8] But at least it shows the high regard in which the Purāṇa-Vidyā was held.

This original Purāṇa from Brahmā consisting of a hundred crores of ślokas and its abridged form of four lacs of ślokas, were both known by the name of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*, and this Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa again was divided into the eighteen Purāṇas.[9]

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6. Bhaviṣya-P., I. 2. 56 f.:—

   यत्तन्मुखं महाबाहो पञ्चमं लोकविश्रुतम् ।
   अष्टादशपुराणानि सेतिहासानि भारत ॥
   निर्गतानि ततस्तस्मात्मुखात्कुरुकुलोद्वह ।

7. *Cf.* Nār.-P. I. 92. 22 ff. .—

   पुराणमेकमेवासीत् सर्वकल्पेषु मानद ।
   चतुर्वर्गस्य बीजं च शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥
   ....
   कालेनाग्रहणं दृष्ट्वा पुराणस्य महामतिः ॥
   हरिर्व्यासरूपेण जायते च युगे युगे ।
   चतुर्लक्षप्रमाणेन द्वापरे द्वापरे सदा ।
   तदष्टादशधा कृत्वा भूर्लोके निर्दिशत्यपि ।
   अद्यापि देवलोकेषु शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ।
   अस्त्येव तस्य सारस्तु चतुर्लक्षेण वर्ण्यते ॥

   Cf. also Matsya 53.4, 10; 57-59.

8. *E.g.* P. V. Kane: H. Dh. V. II., p. 829.

9. *Cf.* एकमेव पुरा ह्यासीद् ब्रह्माण्डं शतकोटिधा ।
   ततोऽष्टादशधा कृत्वा वेदव्यासो युगे युगे ॥
   प्रख्यापयति लोकेऽस्मिन् साक्षान्नारायणांशजः ।
   (Sk.-P., VII. 2. 8 f.)
   ब्रह्माण्डं यच्चतुर्लक्षं पुराणं येन पठ्यते ।
   तदेतस्य गदितमत्राष्टादशधा पृथक्
   पाराशर्येण मुनिना.................... ॥
   (Nār. P. I. 109. 30 f.)

(b) *The one and the four Original Pūrāṇa-Saṁhitā*-s *of human origin* :

The Viṣṇu, the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa mention that Maharṣi Vyāsa first composed a Purāṇa-Saṁhitā from the material supplied by the *ākhyāna*-s (tales), *upākhyāna*-s (episodes), *gāthā*-s (ślokas handed down from the ancient times) and *Kalpajokti*-s (lore coming down from the ages, Pargiter; words or descriptions relating to the *Kalpa*-s, Kane).[10] He then taught this Purāṇa-Saṁhitā to his disciple Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa, who also composed his own Purāṇa-Saṁhitā and taught it in six versions to his six disciples, of whom the three disciples, namely Kāśyapa (or Akṛtavraṇa), Sāvarṇi and Sāṁśapāyana composed their own Purāṇa-Saṁhitās. Thus these four Saṁhitās, viz. of Kāśyapa, of Sāvarni, of Sāṁśapāyana and the fourth of Romaharṣaṇa were the four original (*pūrva*, Vāyu ; *mūla*, Bhāg.) Purāṇa-Saṁhitās, the first three Saṁhitās were based on the Romaharṣaṇikā Saṁhitā[11] All these four original Purāṇa-Saṁhitās consisted each of the four pādas ('सर्वास्ता हि चतुष्पादाः' Vāyu, I. 61.59 a) ; each dealt with the same subject-matter ('सर्वाश्चैकार्थवाचिकाः' 59b), but they differed only in their diction and reading like the Vedic Śākhās ('पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा' 59cd). Each Saṁhitā was of 4,000 ślokas, except the Śaṁśapāyana-Saṁhitā which consisted of 8,600 *ṛks* or ślokas ('चतुः साहस्त्रिकाः सर्वाः शांशपायनिकामृते ।' 59ef ; 'शाशपायनिका चान्या नोदनार्थ-विभूषिता । सहस्राणि ऋचामष्टौ षट् शतानि तथैव च ॥' 61).

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10. आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कल्पजोक्तिभिः ।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारद. ॥
(Bḍ II. 34. 21, Vāyu I. 60. 21; Viṣ. III. 6. 15)
(Bd—कल्पजोक्तिभिः ; Vāyu—कुलकर्मभिः ; Visnu—कल्पशुद्धिभिः)

11. प्रख्यातो व्यासशिष्योऽभूत् सूतो वै रोमहर्षणः ।
पुराणसंहितां तस्मै ददौ व्यासो महामतिः ॥ १६ ॥
सुमतिश्चाग्निवर्चाश्च मित्रयुश्शांशपायनः ।
अकृतव्रणसावर्णी षट् शिष्यास्तस्य चाभवन् ॥ १७ ॥
काश्यपः संहिताकर्त्ता सावर्णिः शांशपायनः ।
रोमहर्षणिका चान्या तिसृणां मूलसंहिता ॥ १८ ॥
(Viṣ.-P., III. 6)
(*Cf.* also Vāyu I. 61. 55 ff. ; Bḍ II. 35. 63 ff. ; Bhāg. XII. 7, 4 ff.)

These original Purāṇas are perhaps referred to by the name of the *Ādi-purāṇa* (or-*Purāṇas*) in the Bhaviṣya-P. (II. i. 7.11cd), Matsya (164.16), Padma (Ān. edn. V. 36.14), Vām. (2.20) etc. But these original versions do not exist now, still some of those original composers, besides Romaharṣaṇa, appear as inquirers or narrators in some of the Purāṇas and also in the Mahābhārata. Thus Sāvarṇi (Vāyu I. 21.1), Kāśyapeya (Vāyu I. 7.1) and Śāṁsapāyana (as inquirer in Vāyu I. 49.96 ; 56. 1-2 ; 57 86, 88, 60-33-34 ; II.1.1 ; 4.1 ; 10.2 ; 11.24 ; 27.16 ; Bd. II. 15.1 ; 19.99 ; 28.2 ; 30.1,5; 34.34 ; 36.1 ; III. 1.1 ; and as narrator in Vāyu II.41-67 ; etc.) appear in the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, which are two of the oldest Purāṇas as they only have the four-pāda-division of their text.[12]

2. Evolution and Growth of the Purāṇas[13]

We find several marked stages in the evolution and growth of Purāṇas. From the ancient secular and religious stories and cosmological statements found in the Brāhmaṇas or from the simple works containing such stories and statements, the Purāṇas have grown into a literature of unparalleled vastness, complexity and variety, treating of almost every aspect and sphere of human life. The following stages of their growth may briefly be stated here :

(a) *First stage—Purāṇas as ancient stories or cosmological statements* :[14]

The earliest references of the Purāṇas are found in the singular number in the sense of the ancient stories, such as of Purūravas and Urvaśī[14a] or in the sense of such cosmological statements as 'असद्वा इदमग्र आसीत्'[14b], in the following Vedic works[15] :

12. *Vide*. Pargiter : *AJHT*, pp. 23 ff. ; and footnotes
13. For this topic see also Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 853 ff.
14. *Cf.* my article 'Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Ākhyāna' in '*Purāṇa*', VI. 2 (July, 1964), pp. 451 ff.
14a. *Cf.* Sāyaṇa on Śat. Br. XIII. 4. 3. 12 f, and my article in '*Purāṇa*', VI. 2, p. 453, referred to above.
14b. *Cf.* Śaṅkara on Bṛ. Ār. Up II. 4. 10., and my article referred to above.
15. For quotations see my article referred to above in. fn. 14.

(1) Atharva-Veda (XI. 7.24 ; XV. 6.10-11).

(2) Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XI. 5. 6. 8 ; XIII. 4. 3.13).

(3) Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa (1.21)

(4) Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (III. 4. 1-2 ; VII. 1. 2).

(5) Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (II. 4.10).

(6) Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra (X. 7).

(7) Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra (XVI. 2-27)

(8) Gotama-Dharmasūtra (XI. 9).

It is not clear whether the word *purāṇa* used in the above works stands for ancient stories and cosmological passages or for a separate class of works containing such matter.

(b) *Second stage—Purāṇas as definite works containing cosmogonical accounts and Smṛti-matter*[16] :

Purāṇas as definite works are found referred to in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka (II. 10) and the Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra (I. 6. 19. 13; 10. 29. 7 ; II. 9. 23. 3-4 ; 9. 24. 6) The Tait. Ār. uses the word '*purāṇa*' in the plural. Āpastamba quotes four verses from some Purāṇa or Purāṇas, summarises one verse of a Purāṇa and one verse of a Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa of his times. The two verses from a Purāṇa quoted by Āpastamba in I. 6. 19, 13[17] have not yet been traced in any of the existing Purāṇas, but they occur with some variations in Manu 4. 248-249. The two verses quoted by him from a Purāṇa in

16. See also Pargiter, *op. cit.*, pp 43 ff., Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 817 f. and his fn. 1328.

17. अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति—
'उद्यतामाहृतां भिक्षां पुरस्तात् प्रवेदिताम् ।
भोज्यां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः ॥'
'न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दश वर्षाणि पञ्च च ।
न च हव्यं वहन्त्यग्निर्यस्तामभ्यधिमन्यते ॥ (Âp. Dh. Sū. I, 6. 19.13)

II. 9. 23 3-6[18] are similar to the verses found in Vāyu (I. 50. 213, 218), Brahmāṇḍa (II. 7. 180), Matsya (124. 102-3) and Viṣṇu (II. 8. 93). The prose passage given in I. 10. 29. 7[19] is apparently a summary of Matsya 227. 115-117, and according to Pargiter (*AIHT*, P. 44) this Matsya passage was evidently the one that Āpastamba had in mind. The passage given in II 9 24. 6[20] in concise prose cites a Bhaviṣyat-Purāṇa. These passages of Āpastamba clearly show that the Purāṇas in his times (c., 500, Kane) were like the present Purāṇas, and, besides dealing with *sarga* and *pratisarga*, contained Smṛti matter also.

(c) *Third stage—Pañcalakṣaṇa stage*:

The Purāṇa is generally defined as *Pañca-lakṣaṇa,* i.e. having five characteristics, i.e. mainly treating of the five topics of *sarga* (creation), *pratisarga* (dissolution and re-creation), *vaṁśa* (genealogy), *manvantara*-s (periods called Manvantaras, each consisting of 71 Mahāyugas), and *vaṁśānucarita* (accounts of dynasties of Kings, Ṛṣis and Gods).[21] It is not certain when the Purāṇa came to be regarded as *Pañcalakṣaṇa*, but so much is certain that by the time of Amarakośa (c. 500 A.D.) this definition of the Purāṇas was well-established, for this work also defines the Purāṇa as 'पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्'.

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18. अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति —
'अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजामीषिर ऋषयः ।
दक्षिणेनार्यम्णः पन्थानं ते श्मशानानि भेजिरे ॥'
'अष्टाशीतिसहस्राणि ये प्रजां नेषिर ऋषयः ।
उत्तरेणार्यम्णः पन्थानं तेऽमृतत्वं हि कल्पते ॥' (*ibid.* II. 9. 23. 3-6)

19. 'यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तं हन्ति मन्युरेव मन्यु' स्पृशति, न तस्मिन् दोष इति पुराणे ॥ (*ibid.* I. 10. 29 7)

20. 'पुनः सर्गे बीजार्था भवन्तीति भविष्यत्पुराणे ।' (*ibid.* II. 9. 24. 6.)

21. 'सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशा (Bd, -श्या) नुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥

These *pañca-lakṣaṇa-s* of Purāṇa are well-known. They are mentioned in Ag. 1.14, Bhāg. (Devī-) I. 2. 18, Bhaviṣya I. 2. 4-5; Bd. I. 1. 37-8, Brv. IV. 133.6, Garuḍa I. 215.14, Kūr. 1. 1.12, Matsya 53. 65, Śiva V. 1.37, Sk. VII. 2.84, Varāh 2.4, Viṣ. III. 6.25., Saura-P. 9.4.

The Sk. and some Mss. of the Matsya read 'वंशानुवंशचरितं' for 'वंशानुचरितं चैव'. The Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā (Adh. 2) gives the पञ्चलक्षण definition as follows :—'सर्गः प्रतिसंहारः कल्पो मन्वन्तराणि वंशविधिः । जगतो यत्र निबद्धं तद्विज्ञेयं पुराणमिति ॥'

But these five *lakṣaṇas* were not the only topics which the earlier Purāṇas dealt with from the earliest times (at least from Āpastamba's time), for they also dealt with Smṛti or Dharmaśāstra material. It can only be said, therefore, that these five were only the distinctive characteristics forming the main topics of the earlier Purāṇas.

(d) *The fourth or the last stage—extant Purāṇas* :

The extant Purāṇas constitute the fourth or the last stage in the evolution of the Purāṇas. Even before the time of Kauṭilya the Paurāṇika Sūta who was specially adept in the five *lakṣaṇas* of the Purāṇas and carefully preserved the genealogies, had ceased to exist, for Kauṭilya (V. 3) clearly mentions "*Paurāṇika*' as an official of a king separate from the Sūta and the Māgadha, whose function was to recite the Purāṇas to the king in the afternoon.[22] Hence the extant Purāṇic texts, which were possibly compiled or redacted after the Paurāṇika Sūta had ceased to exist, generally neglect the *pañca lakṣaṇa*-s and mainly deal with the religious matter, such as *deva-pūjā, vrata, dāna, tīrtha, śrāddha* etc. together with *ākhyāna*-s and *Upākhyāna*-s connected with them. Hence they are truly called as the *Dharmaśāstra*-s by the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa.[23] The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is the only Purāṇa which mainly deals with these five topics in a systematic manner.[24]

According to Prof. Kane the compilation of the extant Purāṇas was completed by the 9th century A. D. and the Upapurāṇas began to be compiled from about the 7th or the 8th century A. D., and their number went on increasing till about the 13th century or even later.[25]

After the 9th century A.D. no further Mahāpurāṇas were compiled, but additional matter seems to have been unscrupulously inserted in several Purāṇas such as the Bhaviṣya.[25a] Several of the

22. See Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

23. *Cf.* Bhav. P. I. 1. 65–

एतानि (i. e. पुराणानि) कुरुशार्दूल धर्मशास्त्राणि पण्डितैः ।
साधारणानि प्रोक्तानि वर्णाना श्रेयसे सदा ॥

24. *Cf.* Viṣ. P. VI. 8. 13 :—

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशमन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं कृत्स्नं मयाऽत्र तव कीर्त्तितम् ॥

25-25a. *Vide* Kane, *op. cit*, p. 855

Mahāpurāṇas such as the Agni, Garuḍa and Nārada have become encyclopaedic, thus treating of every subject of human interest.

3. Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas

(a) *Purāṇas*:

The word *'purāṇa'* has generally been used for a Mahā-Purāṇa, The word *'mahāpurāṇa'* is of a late origin ; it is used only in the Brahma-vaivarta (IV. 133.7) as 'महतां पुराणानाम्' and in the Bhāgavata (XII.7.10) as 'महत् (पुराणं)', and (XII. 7.22) as 'महान्ति (पुराणानि)' and also in Vāyu (I. 42. 11) as 'बृहन्ति पुराणानि'; all the other Purāṇas use the word *'Purāṇa'* for those Purāṇas which are now called *'Mahāpurāṇa-s'* (i. e. the major or main Purāṇas). Even the Bhāgavata and the Brahma-vaivarta use the word *'Purāṇa'* for the 'Mahāpurāṇa' also in the same breath. The Bhāgavata calls itself as the 'भागवतं पुराणम्' (II. 10. 43) and not as 'भागवतं महापुराणम्'. Similarly, the Brahma-vaiv. also calls itself as 'पुराणं' ('उवाचेदं पुराणं च गोलोके रासमण्डले' IV. 133. 27 cd). But in the colophons of almost all the (Mahā-) Purāṇas we read 'इति श्री....महापुराणे' etc..

(b) *Upa-purāṇas*:

When the number of the Purāṇas was fixed as *eighteen* ('अष्टादश पुराणानि')[26], all other Purāṇas composed after that period were considered as originated only from these eighteen Purāṇas,[27] and so they were called as the *'Upa-purāṇa*-s' (i. e. secondary Purāṇas ; Viṣ.-P., III. 6.25; Brv. IV. 133. 7a ; Saura-P. 9.12; etc.); and sometimes even *'Alpa'* (Bhāg. XII. 7. 10d) and *'Kṣullaka'* (22d) Purāṇas, both meaning 'minor' Purāṇas. According to the Saura-Purāṇa (9. 12) the *Upa-purāṇas* are the *'Khila*-s' or supplements of the Purāṇas, and it also calls itself as the 'K*hila*' of the Brahma-Purāṇa—'खिलान्युपपुराणानि यानि चोक्तानि सूरिभिः। इदं ब्रह्मपुराणस्य खिलं सौरमनुत्तमम् ॥.'

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26. *Cf.* अष्टादशपुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवतीसुतः ।
भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे तदुपबृंहितम् ॥ (Matsya, 53.70)
तदष्टादशधा कृत्वा भूर्लोके निदिशत्यपि । (Nar.-P., I. 92. 25 ab).

27. *Cf.* अष्टादशभ्यस्तु पृथक् पुराणं यत् प्रदिश्यते ।
विजानीध्वं द्विजश्रेष्ठास् तदेतेभ्यो विनिर्गतम् ॥ (Matsya, 53.64)

The Matsya-Purāṇa (53. 60-63) mentions only the *four* Upa-purāṇas (which it calls *Upabheda-s*), viz. 'नारसिंह' (of the Padma-Purāṇa), 'नन्दीपुराण' (also perhaps of the Pad.-P.), 'शाम्ब' (of the Bhaviṣya-P) and 'आदित्य' (also perhaps of the Bhaviṣya). The number of the Upa-purāṇas, however, went on increasing, but in course of time it was also fixed as '*eighteen*'[28] ; even then their number went on increasing, and now the names of *more than one hundred* Upa-purāṇas are available.[29] The eighteen, however, are still considered the principal Upa-purāṇas, and their list is given in several Purāṇas (both in the Mahāpurāṇas and the Upa purāṇas).[30] The Upa-purāṇas which appeared after the number of the Upa-purāṇas had been fixed as eighteen, are sometimes called '*Aupa-purāṇa*-s' (औपपुराणानि), and the number of the Aupa-Purāṇas, was also fixed as eighteen, but the list of the eighteen Aupa-purāṇas. contain mostly the names of the Upa-purāṇas of the recognised lists.[30a]

(c) *The distinction between the Purāṇas and the Upa-purāṇas* :

According to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (III. 6. 25) and the Saura-Purāṇa (9. 4-5) the five main characteristics(*pañca-lakṣaṇa*-s) belong to the Purāṇas (i.e. the Mahāpurāṇas) and the Upa-purāṇas both,[31]

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28. *Cf.* अष्टादशपुराणानामेवमेव विदुर्बुधाः ।
एवं चोपपुराणानामष्टादश प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।। (Brv., IV. 133.22).

29. *Vide.* R. C. Hazara : *Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas*, Vol. I., Calcutta, 1958, p. 5–fn. 7.

30. *Ibid.* pp. 4-13 (XXIII lists of the Upa-Purāṇas have been given here by the author.)

30a. *Cf.* आद्यं सनत्कुमारं च नारदीयं बृहच्च यत् ।
आदित्यं मानवं प्रोक्तं नन्दिकेश्वरमेव च ।।
कौर्मं भागवतं ज्ञेयं वासिष्ठं भार्गवं तथा ।
मुद्गलं कल्किदेव्यौ च महाभागवतं तथा ।।
बृहद्धर्मं परानन्दं वह्निं पशुपतिं तथा ।
हरिवंशं ततो ज्ञेयमिदमौपपुराणकम् ।। (Bṛhad- Viveka, Adh. 3) ?

31. महापुराणान्येतानि ह्यष्टादश महामुने ।।२४ उ. (cd).
तथा चोपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि च ।
सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
सर्वेष्वेतेषु कथ्यन्ते वंशानुचरितं च यत् ।।२५।। (Viṣ.-P. III. 6)

but according to the Bhāgavata (XII.7.10) and the Brv. (IV.133.6ff.) the *five lakṣaṇa*-s (*sarga* etc.) belong to the Upapurāṇas, but to the Mahāpurāṇas belong the *ten lakṣaṇa*-s[32] or even more (दशाधिकं, Brv.). But perhaps, it is only an arbitrary distinction, for both the five *lakṣaṇa*-s and the ten *lakṣaṇa*-s are sometimes treated of both in the Mahāpurāṇas and the Upapurāṇas (at least in some of them), and both are more or less of sectarian nature, and deal more with the religious matter—*vrata*, *śrāddha*, *pūjā*, *tīrtha*, etc. Hence the only tenable distinction between them seems to be this that the Mahāpurāṇas are those which the Purāṇas mention in their lists of the eighteen Purāṇas (अष्टादश पुराणानि), and the rest are the Upapurāṇas.

(d) *The names of the 18 Upa-purāṇas* :

Almost all the Purāṇa-lists (available in the Purāṇas) agree in the names of the Purāṇas (i. e. the Mahāpurāṇas), but there is no such agreement regarding the names of the Upa-purāṇas given in the various lists[33] of the Upa-purāṇas, though their number is always eighteen.

The Kūrma-Purāṇa (Veṅk. edn., I. 1. 17-20)[34] gives the following list of the Upa-purāṇas :

[अथान्यान्युपपुराणनि मुनिभिः कथितानि तु। १६ पू.]
आद्यं सनत्कुमारोक्तं नारसिंहमतः परम् ।
(सनत्कुमाराख्यं, Pad.-P., IV. 111. 95a)

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
ब्रह्मादीनां पुराणानामुक्तमेतत् तु लक्षणम् ।
एतच्चोपपुराणानां खिलत्वाल्लक्षणं स्मृतम् ॥ (Saura, 9.4-5).

32. *Cf.* सर्गोऽस्याथ विसर्गश्च वृत्ती रक्षाऽन्तराणि च ।
वंशो वंशानुचरितं संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः ॥
दशभिर्लक्षणैर्युक्तं पुराणं तद्विदो विदुः । (Bhag. XII. 7. 9-10)

33. For the lists of the Upa-purāṇas see fn. 30.

34. The Kūrma-Purāṇa-list of the Upapurāṇas seems to be generally recognised, for it is found quoted in different versions by several (at least seven) authors of the Dharmaśāstra-Nibandhas. (See R. C. Hazra, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6).

तृतीयं स्कान्दमुपदिष्टं कुमारेण तु भाषितम् ॥१७॥
चतुर्थं शिवधर्माख्यं साक्षान्नन्दीशभाषितम् ।
दुर्वाससोक्तमाश्चर्यं नारदीयमतः परम् ॥१८॥
कापिलं वामनं चैव तथैवोशनसेरितम् ।
ब्रह्माण्डं वारुणं चैव कालिकाह्वयमेव च ॥१९॥
माहेश्वरं तथा शाम्बं सौरं सर्वार्थसंचयम् ।
पराशरोक्तं मारीचं तथैव भार्गवाह्वयम् ॥२०॥

4. Mahāpurāṇas

(a) *Authorship of the Mahāpurāṇas* :

Almost all the Purāṇas attribute the authorship of the eighteen Purāṇas (or Mahāpurāṇas) and of the Mahābhārata to Maharṣi Vyāsa. The Matsya-Purāṇa says :—

अष्टादश पुराणानि कृत्वा सत्यवती सुतः ।
भारताख्यानमखिलं चक्रे तदुपबृंहितम् ॥ (53. 70)

The Skanda-Purāṇa (VII. 2. 94-95) says the same thing. The Śiva-Purāṇa (Umā Saṁ., 44-119) adds that Vyāsa worshipped Madhyameśvara (a form of Mahādeva or Śiva in Kāśī) and obtained from him a boon after which he composed the 18 Purāṇas.

The Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, however, in one place (III. iii. 28. 10-15) records also another tradition attributing separate authorship to different Purāṇas. Thus, according to this tradition :—

(1) Viṣṇu-P. was composed by *Parāśara*, (2) Skanda-Purāṇa by *Śiva*, (3) Padma and (4) Brahma by *Brahmā*, (5) Garuḍa by *Hari* and (6) Bhāgavata by *Śukra*. These six are the sāttvika Purāṇas. (7) Matsya, (8) Kūrma, (9) Nṛsiṁha, (10) Vāmana, (11) Śiva and (12) Vāyu—these six Purāṇas were composed by *Vyāsa*. These are the rājasa Purāṇas. (13) Mārkaṇḍeya, and (14) Vārāha were composed by sage *Mārkaṇḍeya*, (15) Āgneya was composed by *Aṅgiras*, (16) Liṅga and (17) Brahmāṇḍa were both composed

by sage *Taṇḍi*, and (18) Bhaviṣya was composed by ***Mahādeva***. These six are the tāmasa Purāṇas, and are devoted to the Śakti-dharma (Śākta-religion ?).[35] But in another place (I. 1. 58) even this Purāṇa attributes to Vyāsa the authorship of all the 18 Purāṇas.

(b-d) Number, Names and Order of the Mahāpurāṇas :

The number of the Mahāpurāṇas is traditionally fixed as eighteen (though the Śiva-Purāṇa in one place, Umā Saṁ., 13. 41, mentions the number of the Purāṇas as twenty-six, without mentioning the names of the Purāṇas). Among the 18 Purāṇas the 4th is invariably mentioned as the Śaiva or the Vāyavīya, and the 18th is the Brahmāṇḍa (also called 'Vāyavīya' in the Kūrma, I, 1. 15).

A list of the 18 Purāṇas is given in many of the Purāṇas, sometimes in more than one place in the same Purāṇa. In the four Purāṇas (viz. Matsya, 53. 12-56, Skanda, VII. 2. 21-77, Nāradīya, I. 92-109, and Āgneya or Agni-Purāṇa, 272. 1-23) the giving of the gift of the 18 Purāṇas (written by hand) is associated with the different periods and the months of the year in the same order ; in all these four Purāṇas, the fourth Purāṇa is mentioned as the '*Vāyavīya*' in place of the Śaiva (or the Śiva) ; all the other Purāṇas, which contain the list of the eighteen Purāṇas, but do not contain the chapter(-s) on their gift, mention the '***Śaiva***' in

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35. पराशरेण रचितं पुराणं विष्णुदैवतम् ।
शिवेन रचितं स्कान्दं पाद्मं ब्रह्ममुखोद्भवम् ॥१०॥
शुक्रप्रोक्तं भागवतं ब्राह्मं वै ब्रह्मणा कृतम् ।
गारुडं हरिणा प्रोक्तं षड् वै सात्त्विकसंभवाः ॥११॥
मत्स्यः कूर्मो नृसिंहश्च वामनः शिव एव च
वायुरेतत्पुराणि व्यासेन रचितानि वै ॥१२॥
राजसाः षट् स्मृता वीर कर्मकाण्डमया भुवि ।
मार्कण्डेयं च वाराहं मार्कण्डेयेन निर्मितम् ॥
आग्नेयमङ्गिराश्चैव जनयामास चोत्तमम् ॥१३॥
लिङ्गब्रह्माण्डके चापि तण्डिना रचिते शुभे ।
महादेवेन लोकार्थे भविष्यं रचितं शुभम् ॥१४॥
तामसाः षट् स्मृताः प्राज्ञैः शक्तिधर्मपरायणाः ।१५ पू०

—Bhaviṣya, III (Pratisarga-parva), iii. 28. 10-15.

place of the Vāyavīya. (The Saura Purāṇa, however, mentions 'Vāyavīya,' and not Saiva or Śiva, as the fourth).

In fact, 'Vāyavīya' and 'Saiva' were the two names of the same Purāṇa which was divided into two parts,[36] and contained 24,000 ślokas. It was called '*Vāyavīya*' because it was originally spoken by Vāyu, and also *Śaiva* (or *Śiva-Purāṇa*), because it mainly dealt with the subject of the devotion to Śiva (*Śiva-bhakti*).[37] So from the point of the original speaker it was called *Vāyavīya*, and from the point of its subject-matter it was called *Śaiva*. Similarly the Brahmāṇḍa is also said to have been spoken by Vāyu, and so it was also called 'Vāyavīya.' According to the modern scholars of Indology (such as Kirfel and Hazra) the Brahmāṇḍa and Vāyu were sometimes the one and the same Purāṇa, for both mention themselves as spoken by Vāyu or Māruta to the Ṛṣis of the Naimiṣa forest.[38]

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36. The *Vāyu-P.* is said to be consisting of two parts :

तद्वायवीयमुदितं भागद्वयसमन्वितम् । (Nār.-P., I. 95. 3 ab)

The *Śiva-P.* also is said to be consisting of two parts :

यत्र पूर्वोत्तरे खण्डे शिवस्य चरितं बहु ।
शैवमेतत्पुराणं हि पुराणज्ञा वदन्ति च ॥

—*Ś*iva-P., V (Umā Saṁ.), 44. 128.

37. *Cf.* पुराणेषूत्तमं प्राहुः पुराणं वायुनोदितम् ।
शिवभक्तिसमायोगान्नामद्वयविभूषितम् ॥

—Narmadā-Māhātmya from Vāyu-P. (Ms. No. 3570, H. P. Śastri's Catalogue of Asiatic Society-Manuscripts, Vol. V).

चतुर्थं वायुना प्रोक्तं वायवीयमिति स्मृतम् ।
शिवभक्तिसमायोगात् शैवं तच्चापराख्यया ॥

(Quoted from Revā-Māhātmya in Astādaśa Purāṇa Darpaṇa, p. 121).

'Bālambhatta (latter half of the 18th Century A. D.) stated in his commentary on the Mitākṣarā (on Yāj. 1. 3.) that the Vāyavīya-Purāṇa is also called Śaiva', (See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 831).

38. *Cf.* पुराणं संप्रवक्ष्यामि यदुक्तं मातरिश्वना ॥
पृष्टेन मुनिभिः पूर्वं नैमिषेयैर्महात्मभिः ॥

(Vāyu-P., I. 1. 41 ; Bd-P., I.I. 1. 36 ed.-37ab).

Kirfel in his Introduction (pp, XII-XIII, XV-XVI) to *'Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣana'* has given a chapter-concordance of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, and has shown how these two Purāṇas were originally one and the same.

The Padma-Purāṇa (Ān. edn, I, 62. 2-7) identifies the eighteen Purāṇas (mentioned in the accepted order as given in the Visṇu-P.) with the limbs of Viṣṇu (पुराणावयवो हरिः).[39] Here the fourth Purāṇa is mentioned as *Saiva*' and is identified with the left arm of Viṣṇu, while the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa is identified with his right arm. This implies the sacredness and the divine character of the 18 Purāṇas.

In all the lists of the Mahāpurāṇas, as given in the various Purāṇas, there is almost complete agreement as regards their names but as regards their order we have no such unanimity. Broadly speaking we have five kinds of order of the names of the 18 Purāṇas, as can be seen from the study of the various lists given in the Purāṇas. These can be named as (1) the Viṣṇu Purāṇa Order, (2) the Kūrma Purāṇa Order, (3) the Liṅga Purāṇa Order, (4) the Composite Order and (5) the Individual Purāṇa Order.

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39. ब्राह्मं मूर्धा हरेरेव हृदयं पद्मसंज्ञितम् ।
वैष्णवं दक्षिणो बाहुः शैवं वामो महेशितुः ।
ऊरू भागवतं प्रोक्तं नाभिः स्यान्नारदीयकम् ॥
मार्कण्डेयं च दक्षाङ्घ्रिर्वामो ह्याग्नेयमुच्यते ।
भविष्यं दक्षिणो जानुर्विष्णोरेव महात्मनः ॥
ब्रह्मवैवर्तसंज्ञं तु वामजानुरुदाहृतः ।
लैङ्गं तु गुल्फकं दक्षं वाराहं वामगुल्फकम् ॥
स्कान्दं पुराणं लोमानि त्वगस्य वामनं स्मृतम् ।
कौर्मं पृष्ठं समाख्यातं मात्स्यं मेदः प्रकीर्त्यते ॥
मज्जा तु गारुडं प्रोक्तं ब्रह्माण्डमस्थि गीयते ।
एवमेवाभवद् विष्णुः पुराणावयवो हरिः ॥

—Padma-P., I (Ādi-Kh.). 62.2-7.

The first three orders are as follows :—

	(1) Visṇu-P. (III. 6. 21-24)	(2) Kūrma-P. (I. 1. 13-15)	(3) Liṅga-P. (I., 39. 61-64)
1st	ब्राह्म	ब्राह्म	ब्राह्म
2nd	पाद्म	पाद्म	पाद्म
3rd	वैष्णव	वैष्णव	वैष्णव
4th	शैव	शैव	शैव
5th	भागवत	भागवत (1st–5th = Visṇu-P. Order)	भागवत
6th	नारदीय	भविष्य	भविष्य
7th	मार्कण्डेय	नारदीय	नारदीय
8th	आग्नेय	मार्कण्डेय	मार्कण्डेय
9th	भविष्य	आग्नेय	आग्नेय (1st–9th = Kūrma-P. Order)
10th	ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त	ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त	ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त
11th	लैङ्ग	लैङ्ग	लैङ्ग
12th	वाराह	वाराह	वाराह (10th–12th = Visṇu-P. Order)
13th	स्कान्द	स्कान्द	वामन
14th	वामन	वामन	कूर्म
15th	कौर्म	कौर्म	मात्स्य
16th	मात्स्य	मात्स्य	गारुड
17th	गारुड	गारुड	स्कान्द
18th	ब्रह्माण्ड	वायवीय (called) ब्रह्माण्ड (10th–18th = Visṇu-P. Order)	ब्रह्माण्ड

(1) *The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa Order* is following by :—

(1) Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, Veṅk. edn., 134.8-15 ;

(2) Vārāha-Purāṇa, Bib. Ind. Edn., 112.69-72 ;

(3) Bhaviṣya P., Veṅk. edn. I (Brāhma-Parva). 1.61-64 ;

(4) Padma-P , Ān. edn., I (Ādi.kh.). 62.2-7 (पुराणावयवो हरिः)

(5) Brahma-Vaiv.-P., IV. 133.11-21 ;

(6) Bhāg.-P., XII. 13. 4-8 ;

(7) Matsya, 53.12-56 (4th—*Vāyavīya*) ; (Gift of Purāṇas) ;

(8) Nāradīya-P., I. 92.21-28 ; details of contents of each of the 18 Purāṇas, I. 92-109 ; (4th—*Vāyavīya*) ; (Gift of Purāṇas also like Matsya)

(9) Skanda-P. VII (Prabhāsa-Kh.) ; 2.28-77 (4th-*Vāyavīya*) ; (Gift of Purāṇas, like Matsya) ;

(10) Agni-P., Ān. edn., 272.1-23 (4th—*Vāyavīya*) ; (Gift of Purāṇas, mostly like Matsya).

(2) *The Kūrma-Purāṇa Order* is followed by :—

(1) Padma-P., Ān. edn., VI (Uttara-Kh.) 219. 25-27 ;

(2) Skanda-P., VII. 2.5-7, (4th—*Śaiva*) ;

(3) Saura-Purāṇa, Ān. edn. 9.6-12 ; (4th—*Vāyavīya*) with the following difference :—
In Kūrma-P.—(8th) मार्कण्डेय, (9th) आग्नेय,
In Saura-P.—(8th) आग्नेय, (9th) मार्कण्डेय.

(3) *The Liṅga-Purāṇa Order* is followed by :—
(1) Śiva-Purāṇa, Veṅk. edn., V (Umā-Saṁ.). 44.120 122 ab.

(4) *The Composite Order of single Purāṇa-lists* :

(1) Padma-P. IV (Pātāla-Kh.) 111.90-94. The order given in this list is like the Kūrma-Purāṇa order from the 1st to the 11th Purāṇas, but from the 12th upto the 18th it differs from it in some respects as follows :—

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Kūr.-P.—	वाराह	स्का.	वाम.	कौर्म.	मात्स्य	गारुड	ब्रह्माण्ड
Pad.-P.—	वाम.	स्का.	मात्स्य	कौर्म	वाराह	गारुड	ब्रह्माण्ड

(2) Padma-P., VI (Uttara-Kh.) 263.7-81 :—
From 1st to 12th=Viṣṇu-P. order.
From 13th to 18th=Liṅga-P. order.

(5) *Individual Purāṇa Order* : This order does not conform with any of the previously mentioned order. It is as follows :—

(1) Bhāgavata-P., XII. 7.23-24 ;

(2) Devī-Bhāg., XII. 2.2-12 ;

(3) Vāyu-Purāṇa, Veṅk. edn., II. 42.1-11 (Ān. edn., 104. 2-10) ; (this list of the Vayu-P. does not contain the names of the आग्नेय and the लिङ्ग Purāṇas ; it gives 'वह्निज' for वायवीय, and mentions आदिकपुराण also in addition.

In addition to these lists of the universally recognised Mahāpurāṇas the following lists are also worth mentioning :—

(1) Bhaviṣya-P., III (Pratisarga-Parva). iii. 28. 10-14. This list mentions the names of the 18 Purāṇas in their three categories, *sāttvika, rājasa* and *tāmasa.* In this list the names of the Nāradīya and the Brahma-vaivarta are missing, and the नृसिंहपुराण and वायुपुराण (in addition to Śaiva and Brahmāṇḍa) are mentioned.

(2) Padma-P., IV (Pātāla-Kh.). 100. 51-53ab. This list mentions the names of the Mahāpurāṇas and also some of the Upapurāṇas in connection with the technique of the *Purāṇa-śakuna* (i. e. knowing the omens with the help of the Purāṇas). This list also gives the name of the नृसिंहपुराण along with the names of the Mahāpurāṇas.

(3) Alberuni has given two lists of the 18 Purāṇas, the one read to him from the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, and the other dictated to him. This latter list gives the names of the 18 Purāṇas in a different order, but it omits the names of the Padma, Bhāgavata, Nāradīya, Brahma-vaivarta, Agni and the Liṅga Purāṇa, and inserts the names of the आदिपुराण, नृसिंहपुराण, नन्दपुराण, आदित्यपुराण, सोमपुराण and शाम्बपुराण. This list mentions 'वायुपुराण' in place of the 'Śaiva' of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa list. The name of the *Ādi Purāṇa* is also mentioned in the Vāyu-Purāṇa list (104. 2-10) as *Ādika-Purāṇa.* The four names *Nṛsiṁha, Nanda, Āditya* and Śāmba are perhaps taken from the Matsya-Purāṇa (53. 59-61) which mentions them as the *Upabheda*-s of the Padma and the Bhaviṣya. The name '*Soma-Purāṇa*' is mentioned only by Alberuni and is not found in the lists given in the Purāṇas.

(4) A list of the books (*pustakas*) of the eighteen Purāṇas and the eighteen Upapurāṇas is also given in the '*Kavīndrācārya's List*' (कवीन्द्राचार्यसूचीपत्र) published in the G.O.S., Baroda, 1921. These books were present in the Library of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī at Vārāṇasī, who

Purāṇa into the three categories—(i) six *sāttvika* (ii) six *rājasa* and (iii) six *tāmasa* as follows :—

Pad.-Purāṇa (An edn., VI. 263.81-85)[40]	*Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* (III. iii. 28.10-15)[41]
(i) Sāttvika Purāṇas (Leading to *mokṣa*)	(i) Sāttvika Purāṇa
1. वैष्णव	1. विष्णुदैवतं पुराणं
2. नारदीय	2. स्कान्द
3. भागवत	3. पाद्म
4. गारुड	4. भागवत
5. पाद्म	5. ब्राह्म
6. वाराह	6. गारुड
(ii) Rājasa Purāṇas (Leading to heaven)	(ii) Rājasa Purāṇas
1. ब्रह्माण्ड	1. मत्स्य
2. ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त	2. कूर्म
3. मार्कण्डेय	3. नृसिंह
4. भविष्य	4. वामन
5. वामन	5. शिव
6. ब्राह्म	6. वायु
(iii) Tāmasa Purāṇas (Leading to hell)	(iii) Tāmasa Purāṇas
1. मात्स्य	1. मार्कण्डेय
2. कौर्म	2. वाराह

40. मात्स्यं कौर्मं तथा लैङ्गं शैवं स्कान्दं तथैव च ॥८१उ.(ed.)
आग्नेयं च षडेतानि तामसानि निबोध मे ।
वैष्णवं नारदीयं च तथा भागवतं शुभम् ॥८२॥
गारुडं च तथा पाद्मं वाराहं शुभदर्शने ।
सात्त्विकानि पुराणानि विज्ञेयानि शुभानि वै ॥८३॥
ब्रह्माण्डं ब्रह्मवैवर्त्तं मार्कण्डेयं तथैव च ।
भविष्यं वामनं ब्राह्मं राजसानि निबोध मे ॥८४॥
सात्त्विका मोक्षदा प्रोक्ता राजसाः स्वर्गदाः शुभाः ।
तथैव तामसा देवि निरयप्राप्तिहेतवः ॥८५॥
(Padma-P., VI. 263. 81-85.)

41. See fn, 39 above.

3. लैङ्ग	3. आग्नेय
4. शैव	4. लिङ्ग
5. स्कान्द	5. ब्रह्माण्ड
6. आग्नेय	6. भविष्य

These two classifications, thus, differ from each other. But the classification given by the Padma-P. seems to be more reasonable and so more preferable than that of the Bhav.-P.

The Matsya Purāṇa (53. 68-69) gives a fourfold classification.[42]—(a) *Sāttvika* Purāṇas—those which contain more the glorification of Hari or Viṣṇu, (b) *Rājasa* Purāṇas—those which contain more the glorification of Brahmā, (c) *Tāmasa* Purāṇas—those that contain more the glorification of Agni and Śiva, and (d) the *Saṁkīrṇa* (mixed) Purāṇas—those which contain more the glorification of Sarasvatī and Pitṛs (or manes). But this Purāṇa does not mention the names of Purāṇas coming under these four categories.

The Skanda-Purāṇa (VII. i. 2.89) merely mentions the number of the Purāṇas (without giving their names) which sing respectively (the glory of) the four deities (Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Ravi or the Sun and Śiva). Viṣṇu is praised in the *four*, Brahmā in *two*, Ravi also in two, and Lord Śiva is praised in the remaining ten Purāṇas.[43]

The above is the classification by the Purāṇas according to the Deities glorified in them. But the modern classification of the Purāṇas is as follows :

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42. सात्त्विकेषु पुराणेषु माहात्म्यमधिकं हरेः ।
राजसेषु च माहात्म्यमधिकं ब्रह्मणो विदुः ॥
तद्वदग्नेश्च माहात्म्यं तामसेषु शिवस्य च ।
संकीर्णेषु सरस्वत्याः पितॄणां च निगद्यते ॥
(Matsya-P., 53. 68-69)

43. चतुर्भिर्भगवान् विष्णुर् द्वाभ्यां ब्रह्मा तथा रविः ।
अष्टादशपुराणेषु शेषेषु भगवान् शिवः ॥
(Sk.-P., VII, 1. 2. 89)

(1) Haraprasāda Sāstri, by examining the contents of the Purāṇas, has divided them into the following six groups[44]:—

(a) *Encyclopædias*—Garuḍa, Agni, and Nārada.

(b) *Dealing with the tīrthas and vratas*—Padma, Skanda and Bhaviṣya.

(c) The Purāṇas *that underwent two general revisions*—Brahma, Bhāgavata, and Brahma-vaivarta. (In these Purāṇas the original part is the kernel or central portion, which has been added to twice—at both ends on each occasion.).

(d) *Historical*—Brahmāṇḍa and lost Vāyu. (The present Vāyu may be merged in the Brahmāṇḍa).

(e) *Sectarian*—Liṅga (Śaiva sect), Vāmana (also Śaiva-sect), Mārkaṇḍeya (dealing with Devī).

(f) *Old Purāṇas revised out of existence*—Varāha, Kūrma, and Matsya. Of these Purāṇas, only about a half of the extant Vārāha-Purāṇa is spoken by Varāha, only a third of the extant Matsya is spoken by Matsya and only an eighth of the extant Kūrma is spoken by Kūrma[45].

(2) P. V. Kane (*op. cit.*. p. 842) has given the following classification (which is mainly based on Haraprasāda Sāstri's classification).—

(a) *Encydopaedic*—Like the Agni, Garuḍa and Nāradīya.

(b) *Mainly dealing with tīrthas*—Such as Padma, Skanda and Bhaviṣya.

(c) *Sectarian*—Such as Līṅga Vāmana Mārkaṇḍeya.

(d) *Historical*—Such as Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa.

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44. *Vide JBORS* (Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, Patna) XIV. pp. 330-7; and A. D. Pusalker, *Studies in the Epics and the Purāṇas*. Introduction, pp. xlix-li.

45. See Pusalker, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. li.

(iii) R. C. Hazra in his *Purāṇic Records* (Part I, Ch. II) has divided the 18 Mahāpurāṇas into two main categories from the point of view of their genuineness and spuriousness :—

(a) *Major Purāṇas*—those which are of earlier dates and have preserved much of their older material; these are—1. Mārkaṇḍeya 2. Vāyu, 3. Brahmāṇḍa, 4. Viṣṇu, 5. Matsya, 6. Bhāgavata, 7. Kūrma.

(b) *Minor Purāṇas*—those which, being subjected to the interfering hands of the later redactors, have lost their earlier forms and contents; they are—1. Vāmana, 2. Liṅga, 3. Vārāha, 4. Padma, 5. Nāradīya, 6. Agni, 7. Garuḍa, 8. Brahma, 9. Skanda, 10. Brahma-vaivarta, 11. Bhaviṣya.

(f) Internal division of the Purāṇa-texts as given in the Purāṇas :

(i) *Division into 4 pādas* :

According to the Vāyu-Purāṇa (I. 61. 59a) the four original Purāṇa-Saṁhitās were each divided into four *pādas*. But the names of the four *pādas* are not mentioned here. But in Vāyu (I. 32. 55-64) the names of the four *pādas* with their order are explicitly mentioned as (1) the *Prakriyā-pāda*, (2) the *Anuṣaṅga-pāda*, (3) the *Upodghāta-pāda* and (4) the *Upasaṁhāra pāda*, into which, like a Mahāyuga, a Purāṇa is divided :—

यथा युगं चतुष्पादं विधात्रा विहितं स्वयम् ।
चतुष्पादं पुराणं तु ब्रह्मणा विहितं पुरा ॥ ६४ ॥

The Vāyu says that just as a Yuga (i.e. *Mahāyuga*) is divided into four Yugas, viz. *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara* and *Kaliyuga*, which respectively are the *Prakriyā-pāda*, *Anuṣaṅga-pāda*, *Upodghāta-pāda*, and *Saṁhāra-pāda*, similarly a Purāṇa is divided into these four pādas[46].

46. Vāyu-P., I. 32. 55-64.

The Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa (III. 17. 2-3) also says that a Purāṇa is said to be *catuṣpāda* (i. e. consisting of four *pādas*) :—

प्रक्रिया प्रथमः पादः कथावस्तुपरिग्रहः ।
उपोद्घातानुषङ्गौ च तथा संहार एव च ।
चतुष्पादं हि कथितं पुराणं भृगुनन्दन ॥

Of all the extant Purāṇas, the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa are the only Purāṇas which are divided into these four pādas.

(ii) *The division of the texts of the Purāṇas according to the Nāradīya-Purāṇa* :

The Nāradīya-Purāṇa (I. 92-109) mentions the division of the texts of the individual Mahāpurāṇas along with the lists of their contents. Although this division does not agree with the division of several of the extant Mahāpurāṇas, yet it gives a glimpse of the textual division which those Purānas had in the time (probably 8th or 9th century A. D. at the latest) of the compilation of the Nāradīya-Purāṇa.

Words used for the several divisions of the Purāṇa texts :

In the Nāradīya-Purāṇa the following words are found used :

अंश (as of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa)

अङ्घ्रि (used for pāda—as *Prakriyā* etc. ; Nār. P. I. 109. 13 b.)

अध्याय (the main or a subdivision of every Purāṇa)

खण्ड (as of the Brahma-vaivarta and Skanda ; The word *Khaṇḍa* has also been used as a synonym of *Bhāga* (भाग), e. g. पूर्वखण्ड, and उत्तरखण्ड of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa ; *ibid.* Adh, 108).

दल (synonym of भाग ; e. g. पुरोदले and मध्यमे दले of Bḍ. P. ; *ibid.* 109. 13b, 22d).

पर्वन् (as of the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa ; *ibid.* Adh. 100).

पाद (प्रक्रियापाद etc. of the Bḍ. P. *ibid.* Adh. 109, प्रथमः पादः, द्वितीयः पादः, तृतीयः पादः and चतुर्थः पादः of the Nāradīya, etc. ; *ibid.* Adh. 97).

प्रविभाग (= भाग and विभाग ; as पूर्वभागः, (but) उत्तरः प्रविभागः of the Vāṛāha. P. *ibid.* Adh. 103).

भाग (पूर्वभागः and उत्तरभागः of Vāmana. P. ; *ibid.* Adh. 105 ; पूर्वो भागः, मध्यमो भागः and उत्तरो भागः of the Brahmāṇḍa ; *ibid,* Adh. 109 ; पूर्वभागः and उपरिभागः of Liṅga. P. ; *ibid* Adh 102).

विभागः (= भाग ; as पूर्वभाग, but उत्तरविभाग of Brahma-Purāṇa; *ibid.* Adh. 92 ; पूर्वविभाग, but उत्तरभाग of Vāyu. P. ; *ibid* Adh. 95 ; etc.)

संहिता (e. g. Kūrma. P. said to be divided into four Saṁhitās ; *ibid.* Adh. 106).

स्कन्ध (as of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa ; *ibid.* Adh. 96 ; also of the Devī-Bhāg.)

The division of the Purāṇa-Texts

(According to the Nār. P. I. 92-109).

1. ब्रह्मपुराण (92)—पूर्वभाग, उत्तरविभाग ;
2. पद्मपुराण (93)—1. सृष्टिखण्ड, 2. भूमिखण्ड, 3. स्वर्गखण्ड, 4. पातालखण्ड, 5. उत्तरखण्ड ;
3. वैष्णव पुराण (94)—आदिभाग and विष्णुधर्मोत्तर ; आदिभाग divided into six अंश-s.
4. वायवीव (95)—पूर्वविभाग and उत्तरभाग (नर्मदातीर्थवर्णन, शिवसंहिता).
5. श्रीमद्भागवत (96)—12 स्कन्ध-s.
6. नारदीय (97)—प्राग्भाग (divided again into प्रथमः पादः spoken to Nārada by *Sanaka*, द्वितीय पादः spoken by *Sanandana*, तृतीयः पादः spoken by *Sanatkumāra*, चतुर्थः पादः spoken by Sanātana), and उत्तरविभाग.
7. मार्कण्डेय (98)—divided into अध्याय-s only
8. आग्नेय (99)—अध्याय-s only

9. भविष्य (100)—Five Parvanas: 1. ब्राह्मपर्व, 2. वैष्णवपर्व, 3. शैवपर्व. 4. सौरपर्व, 5. प्रतिसर्गपर्व (स-भविष्यकम्).

10. ब्रह्मवैवर्त्त (101)—4 Khaṇḍas; viz ब्रह्मखण्ड, प्रकृतिखण्ड, विघ्नेशखण्ड, and कृष्णखण्ड.

11. लिङ्गपुराण (102)—पूर्वभाग and उपरिभाग[47]

12. वाराह (103)—पूर्वभाग and उत्तरप्रविभाग

13. स्कन्द (104)—Seven Khaṇḍas; Viz. 1. माहेश्वर-खण्ड, 2. वैष्णव-खण्ड, 3. ब्रह्म-खण्ड, 4. काशी-खण्ड, 5. अवन्ति-खण्ड, 6. नागर-खण्ड, 7. प्राभासिक-खण्ड.

14. वामन (105)—पूर्वभाग (त्रिविक्रम-चरित), उत्तरभाग (named बृहद्वामन) which is again divided into 4 Saṁhitās of one thousand ślokas each: 1. माहेश्वरी, 2. भागवती, 3. सौरी and 4. गाणेश्वरी.

15. कूर्मपुराण (106)—

Two Vibhāgas	Four Saṁhitās
1. पूर्वविभाग 2. उत्तरविभाग (व्यासगीता etc.)	1. ब्राह्मीसंहिता
उत्तरविभाग (Remaining)	2. भागवती संहिता 1. प्रथमः पादः 2. द्वितीयः पादः 3. तृतीयः पादः 4. चतुर्थः पादः 5. पञ्चमः पादः 3. सौरी संहिता 4. वैष्णवी संहिता (of four pādas, चतुष्पदी).

47. अधोभाग and उपरिभाग are also found as the divisions of a Purāṇa-Khaṇḍa; e.g. the यज्ञवैभवखण्ड of the Sūta-Saṁhitā is divided into अधोभाग and उपरिभाग—'उपर्य्यधोभागभेदाद् द्विधाभूतः स उच्यते।' (H. P. Sāstri's Catalogue, V, No. 3849)

16. मात्स्य (107)—अध्याय-s

17. गारुड (108)—पूर्वखण्ड, उत्तरखण्ड (प्रेतकल्प etc.)

18. ब्रह्माण्ड (109)—पूर्वो भागः 1. प्रक्रिया-पादः
2. अनुषङ्ग-पादः

मध्यमो भागः { 3. उपोद्घात पादः

उत्तरो भागः { 4. उपसंहार-पादः

5. Extent of the Texts of the Purāṇas

Vāyu-P. (Veṅk. edn. I. 32. 62-63) says that just as a *Catur-yuga* is of twelve-thousand years, similarly a Purāṇa (which also consists of four *pādas*` is of twelve thousand (12,000) ślokas:—

एतद् द्वादशसाहस्रं चतुर्युगमिति स्मृतम् ।
एवं पादैः सहस्राणि श्लोकानां पञ्च पञ्च च ॥
संध्या-संध्यांशकैरेव द्वे सहस्रे तथाऽपरे ।
एवं द्वादशसाहस्रं पुराणं कवयो विदुः ॥

The Bhaviṣya-P. (Veṅk edn. I. 1. 103) also says that all the Purāṇas are said by the wise to have been of 12,000 ślokas :—

सर्वाण्येव पुराणानि संज्ञेयानि नरर्षभ ।
द्वादशैव सहस्राणि प्रोक्तानीह मनीषिभिः ॥

But it further says that later on they increased in their extent by incorporating in them *ākhyāna*-s of various kinds, like the Skānda and the Bhaviṣya, which respectively became of one hundred thousand and of one half of a lac of ślokas :—

पुनर्वृद्धिं गतानीह आख्यानैर्विविधैर्नृप ।
यथा स्कान्दं तथा चेदं भविष्यं कुरुनन्दन ॥ १०४ ॥
स्कान्दं शतसाहस्रं तु लोकानां ज्ञातमेव हि ।
भविष्यमेतदृषिणा लक्षार्धं संख्यया कृतम् ॥ १०५ ॥

Four lacs however, is the recognised number of the total ślokas of the eighteen Purāṇas. According to this tradition of 4 lacs of ślokas, the extent of the texts of the 18 Purāṇas is given

in the Nāradīya (I. 92-109), Bhāgavata (XII. 13. 4-8), Devī-Bhāg. (I. 3. 3-12), Brahma.vaiv. (IV. 133. 11-21), Matsya (Adh. 53), Skanda (VII 2. 28-77), Agni-P. (272. 1-23), Vāyu (I. 42. 3-10). All these Purāṇas, *except the Agni Purāṇa,* give more or less the same extent of the texts of the Mahāpurāṇas and bring the total of the ślokas to four lacs ('एवं पुराणसंदोहश्चतुर्लक्ष उदाहृतः' Bhāg. ; 'एवं पुराणसंख्यानं चतुर्लक्षमुदाहृतम्' Brahma-vaiv.)

In the table given below the number of ślokas of the 18 Purāṇas is given from the Nāradīya and the Āgneya (or Agni), and along with it the *available extent* (by counting) is also given.

(*A* = Ānandāśrama edn., *B* = Bibliotheca Indica edn., *G* = Gītā Press edn., *V* = Veṅkteśvara edn.)

	Name of the Purāṇa	Extent (*Nar.P.*)	Extent (*Agni P.*)	Extent (*available*)	
1.	Brahma	10,000	*25,000 (लक्षार्धं)	13,761	(Ā)
2.	Padma	55,000	*12,000	48,452	(Ā)
3.	Viṣṇu	23,000	23,000	6,373	(G)
4.	Śiva or Vāyavīya	24,000	*14,000 (Vāyavīya)	10,991 (Vāyu)	(Ā)
5.	Bhāgavata	18,000	18,000	14,579	(G)
6.	Nāradīya	25,000	25,000	17,549	(V)
7.	Mārkaṇḍeya	9,000	9,000	6,447	(V)
8.	Āgneya	15,000	*12,000	11,457	(Ā)
9.	Bhaviṣya	14,000	14,000	25,956	(V)
10.	Brahma-Vaiv.	18,000	18,000	20,694	(Ā)
11.	Liṅga	11,000	11,000	9,185	(V)
12.	Vārāha	24,000	24,000	9,720	(B)
13.	Skanda	81,000	*84,000	93,343	(V)
14.	Vāmana	10,000	10,000	5,815	(V)
15.	Kūrma	17,000	* 8,000	5,925	(V)
16.	Mātsya	14,000	*13,003	14,062	(Ā)
17.	Garuḍa	19,000	* 8,000	8,738	(V)
18.	Brahmāṇḍa	12,000	12,000	14,268	(V)

Notes on the extent of some of the Purāṇas.

1. *Brahma Purāṇa* :—The number of ślokas of this Purāṇa is given as 13,000 in the printed editions of the Matsya-Purāṇa (53. 13). But some of the Mss. of the Matsya as collated here in the Purāṇa Deptt., read this number as दशसाहस्र' (10,000), which is also corroborated by other Purāṇas. It seems that when the *Gautamī-Māhātmya* was added to it, the number rose to 13,000.

2. *Padma-P.* :—All the Purāṇas give the number of its ślokas as 55,000, except the Agni-P. which gives it as 12,000. This number (12,000, is also corroborated by the following remarks of the Padma-P. itself :—

 द्वादशैव सहस्राणां पद्माख्यां च सुसंहिताम् ।
 कलौ युगे पठिष्यन्ति मानुषा विष्णुतत्पराः ॥

(Ān. edn., II. 125. 40).

3. *Viṣṇu-P.* :—The Nāradīya-Purāṇa (I. 94) considers the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* as the *Uttara-bhāga* of the Viṣṇu-P., and when the number of ślokas of the Viṣṇu-dharmottara is added to Viṣṇu-Purāṇa-text of the six *Aṁśas* (which has been called only the *Ādi-bhāga* of the whole Viṣṇu-P. by the Nāradīya-P.) then the number of the Viṣ.-P. comes to even more than 23,000 ślokas.

8. *Āgneya* :—The number is given as 15,400 by the Bhāg. and the Brahma-vaiv., and 16,000 by Matsya and Skanda.

9. *Bhaviṣya-P.* :—The Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa has been much increased in its extent by frequent interpolations. Hence its extent has increased from 14,000 to about 26,000 ślokas of the Vulgate. The Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa (I. 1. 105) even says that its extent has swollen to 50,000 ślokas (लक्षार्धं), as already quoted above.

13. *Skānda* :—Matsya, Brahama-vaiv., Bhāg., Devī-Bhāg., and Skanda give the extent of the Skanda-P. as 81,100. The Bhaviṣya (I. 1. 105, quoted above) gives it as one

hundred thousand ślokas. According to the Sk. P. (VII. 2.106) each of its seven Khaṇḍas are of 12,000 ślokas :— 'सर्वे द्वादशसाहस्रा विभागाः संप्रकीर्तिताः', thus bringing its total to about 84,000 ślokas, which is also given in the Agni-P. as shown above.

14. *Vāmana-P.* :—According to the Nār.-P. (I. 105) this Purāṇa consisted of two parts—पूर्वभाग and उत्तरभाग. The *Uttara-bhāga* (called the बृहद्वामन) consisted of the four *Saṁhitās* of 1,000 ślokas each, and the whole Vāmana-P. had an extent of 10,000 ślokas, meaning thereby that its पूर्वभाग consisted of 6,000 ślokas, which is the number of the ślokas of the available text of the Vāmana. Its उत्तरभाग seems to have been lost.

15. *Kūrma-P.* : The number of the Kūrma-Purāṇa is given as 18,000 ślokas in the vulgate Matsya. But in some Mss. of the Matsya it is given as 17,000, which is the number given by all other Purāṇas also except the Agni-P. which seems to give the number 8,000 of the available text of the Kūrma-P.. The extant vulgate text of the Kūrma-P. is only the ब्राह्मीसंहिता mentioned by the Nāradīya-P. (I. 106). The other three Saṁhitās of this Purāṇa are lost. So the extent of the extant Kūrma has come down from 17,000 to 6,000 ślokas (8,000 ślokas according to Agni-P.).

16. *Brahmāṇḍa-P.*—The number of ślokas of this Purāṇa is given as 12,200 by Matsya and Skanda both, and 12,100 by Devī-Bhāg.

(For Purāṇa-references editions used are 1. The Ān. edn. of Brahma, Padma, Agni, Brv. and Matsya; 2. Gītā-Press edn. of Viṣṇu and Bhāg.; 3. Bib. Ind. edn. of Varāha, and 4. Veṅk. edn. of the remaining Purāṇas.)

—(*To be continued*)

SRI VYASA AND SRI SANKARA IN THE VARADARAJA AND OTHER TEMPLES AT KANCHIPURAM

(Contributed)

[शंकरविजयाख्येषु प्रायः सर्वेष्वेव ग्रंथेषु वृद्धब्राह्मणरूपधारिणा ब्रह्मसूत्रकृता महर्षिणा व्यासेन सह भाष्यकृतो भगवतः श्री-आदिशंकराचार्यस्य ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्यविषयको वादो वर्णितः । अयमेव वादः काञ्चीपुरस्थे श्रीवरदराजस्वामिमन्दिरे देवीसन्निधेरुत्तरेण स्थितस्य मण्डपस्य एकस्मिन् स्तम्भे उत्कीर्ण इति प्रतीयते । अस्मिन् उत्कीर्णचित्रे एको वृद्ध ऋषिर्जटाभिर्यज्ञोपवीतेन रुद्राक्षमालया च सह आसीनो वर्त्तते, 'एकमेवाद्वितीयं ब्रह्म' इत्यद्वैतसिद्धान्तं च स्वाम् एकाम् अङ्गुलिम् उत्थाप्य निर्दिशन् दृश्यते च । अपरश्च शिखासूत्ररहितः कश्चिद् एकदण्डिसंन्यासी अञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा तिष्ठन्नास्ते । एतयोश्चित्रयोः पूर्वं चित्रं श्रीवेदव्यासस्यैव अपरं च श्रीशंकराचार्यस्यैवेत्यस्मिन् लेखे पुष्टप्रमाणपुरस्सरं प्रतिपादितम् । यद्यपि श्रीवरदराजस्वामिमन्दिरस्य प्रबंधः श्रीरामानुजसम्प्रदायिभिरेव बहुकालात् क्रियते, तथाऽपि चिद्विलासीयशंकरविजये अस्य मन्दिरस्य निर्माणं श्रीभगवत्पादशंकराचार्यस्यैव आदेशेन बभूवेति निर्दिष्टम् । पुनश्च, अस्मिन् मन्दिरे एकदण्डिसंन्यासिनोऽन्यान्यपि चित्राणि उत्कीर्णानि वर्तन्ते । काञ्चीपुरमभितोऽन्येषु केषुचिद् रामानुजसंप्रदायिनां मन्दिरेष्वपि च श्रीशंकराचार्यस्य चित्राण्युत्कीर्णानि वर्तन्ते । येनेदं प्रतीयते यत् तस्मिन् काले काञ्च्यां श्रीशंकराचार्यसान्निध्यं दृढं सर्वेषां मनस्यभूत्; श्रीरामानुजसम्प्रदायिनाम् अद्वैतसम्प्रदायिनां च परस्परं विरोधो नाविद्यत, अतो रामानुजसम्प्रदायिमन्दिरेष्वपि श्रीशंकराचार्यस्य चित्राणां विद्यमानताया असम्भावना न विद्यते । एतत्स्वीकरणे च लेखे निर्दिष्टे १-मसंख्याके चित्रे श्रीशंकराचार्येण सह वादं कुर्वाणो ब्रह्मसूत्रकारः श्रीवेदव्यास एव ।

अनेन लेखेन सह काञ्चीपुरे तत्समीपे च निर्मितेषु केषुचिद् मन्दिरेषु वर्त्तमानानां भगवतो वेदव्यासस्य श्रीशंकराचार्यस्य च उत्कीर्णचित्राणां पञ्चदश आलोकचित्राण्यपि लेखे निर्दिष्टसंख्याक्रमेण प्रदत्तानि ।]

जयति पराशरसूनुः सत्यवतीहृदयनन्दनो व्यासः ।
यस्यास्यकमलगलितं वाङ्मयममृतं जगत्पिबति ॥

अभ्रश्यामः पिङ्गजटाबद्धकलापः प्रांशुर्दण्डी कृष्णमृगत्वक्परिधानः ।
साक्षाल्लोकान् पावयमानः कविमुख्यः पाराशर्यः पर्वसु रूपं विवृणोतु ॥
शंकरं शंकराचार्यं केशवं बादरायणम् । सूत्रभाष्यकृतौ वन्दे भगवन्तौ पुनः पुनः ॥

Almost all the Sankara-Vijayas dealing with Sri Sankaracharya's life describe in detail the discussion between Sri Vyasa, in the form of an aged Brahmin, and Sri Sankaracharya on the subject of the latter's *bhashya* on the *Brahmasutras*. This discussion centred round the *bhashya* on the first *sutra* of the first *pada* of the third *Adhyaya* of the *Brahmasutras*. This discussion continued for a number of days. After some days, Sri Padmapada, who was present during the discussion found out that the aged Brahmin was no other than Sri Vyasa and exclaimed that if Sri Vyasa who is Narayana and Sri Sankaracharya who is no other than Sri Sankara himself, begin to discuss, what could a servant (*kinkara*) like him do.

Sri Sankaracharaya then recognised Sri Vyasa in the aged Brahmin and stood with folded arms before him, who by that time, had resumed his original form. Then the former begged the latter to be excused for having had the audacity to hold discussion with the great sage. Sri Vyasa then said that Sri Sankaracharya had correctly interpreted his Sutras and blessed him. Sri Sankaracharya was then in his sixteenth year and Sri Vyasa blessed him with further sixteen years of life, for the propagation of Advaita by undertaking Digvijaya.

This incident seems to have been sculptured in the Sri Varadarajasvami temple in Kanchipuram, Madras State (Figure 1). There is a sculpture on a pillar in the *mandapam* to the north of the Thayar-sannidhi (*sannidhi* of the goddess) showing an aged Rishi with *jata* (*jatabaddha-kalapa* as the old verse on Vyasa says), yajnopavita, and Rudhraksha-mala in the sitting posture with a Dandi-Sanyasin, without tuft and *Yajnopavita*, standing with hands in anjali posture, probably after performing the *dandavandana*, in the presence of the Rishi. This Rishi is showing one finger, the first finger, signifying the One Truth "Ekameva-advitiyam-Brahma", which may be contrasted with the usual, later, representations

of Madhvacharya showing two fingers up signifying the principle of his philosophy of Dvaita (dualism).

It may be asked how a sculpture relating to Advaita-siddhanta came to be sculptured in a temple under the control of the followers of Ramanuja. We may in this connection draw the attention of the readers to the following facts :—

According to Chidvilasiya Sankara-Vijaya, which treats about the life of Sri Adi Sankaracharya, it was Sri Sankaracharya who had the Varadaraja temple constructed through Rajasena, the then Ruler of Kanchi. Since the temple was constructed under the direction of Sri Sankaracharya it was but proper to sculpture some incidents in his life in the temple. Not only this, sculptures of an Ekadandi Advaiti Sanyasin, apparently of Sri Sankaracharya, are found in some of the temples, under the control of the followers of Ramanuja, in and around Kanchi. In the Varadarajasvami temple itself there are some more sculptures of an Ekadandi Sanyasin, one in the four-pillared Vasanta-mantapam, to the right of the Amrita-saras, representing a standing Sanyasin with a *danda* and *kamandalu* by his side (figure 2) and the other on the outside of the eastern wall of the second prakara of the temple featuring a Sanyasin without *sikha* and *yajnopavita* and with *Eka-danda* (Figure 3).

In the hundred-pillared *mandapam* in this temple there is another sculpture showing a Rishi with *jata* and a *Dandi* Sanyasin without *sikha* and *yajnopavita*, both in the sitting posture (Figure 4). This apparently represents Sri Vyasa and Sri Sankaracharya paying respect to the former and holding discussion with him. Before appearing in his real form before Sankaracharya, Sri Vyasa appeared before him as an ordinary Brahmin. The Brahmin appears to be engaged in a heated discussion with young Sankara who appears to be calm.

There is another sculpture in the Vaikuntha-Perumal Vishnu temple representing a Sanyasin without *sikha*, with *ekadanda* and *kamandalu* and a *pustaka* by his side and with a *chamara* on either side of his hand, standing on one foot and performing *tapas*, with

his left hand on the top of his head (Fig. 5). A *chamara* on either side shows that the figure is that of Sri Bhagavatpada alone and that it does not represent any other Sanyasi.

There is a sculpture featuring an Ekadanda Advaiti Sanyasin without *sikha* and *yajnopavita* in the big Vishnu temple in Sevilimedu (Sivalinga-medu) at the southern outskirts of Kanchi. There are sculptures of Ekadanda Sanyasin in some of the Siva temples also of the place, as for example the Punya-kotisvara temple (Figure 6), Kumara-koshtham (Figure 7), Kacha-pesvara temple (Figur 8), and Ekamresvara temple (Figure 9).

The sculptors in and around Kanchi were so familiar with and so much devoted to Sri Sankaracharya that they sculptured his figure in all the prominent temples in the City without regard to the deity to which they were dedicated or the sect to which the temple belonged (in later times). Not only this. It seems that Sri Sankaracharya or his successors had something to do with the management of the Varadaraja temple. This could be seen from Vol. III (pages 340-941) of the *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts* relating to Mackenzie's collection, where William Taylor gives a brief summary of a copper-plate inscription in Vishnu-Kanchi in which the name of Sankaracharya appears among others who had something to do with the temple before the line of Tatacharya took charge. Sri Sankaracharya and his successors having been connected with the temple, it was but natural that his sculptures are seen in the temple.

There is an inscription in the Varadarajasvami temple relating to a Mutt, called Veda-matha, situated in the temple, the head of which is named as Vedendra-Sāgara (No. 350 South Indian Temple Inscriptions—Vol. I, Madras Government Oriental Series, No. C. IV). The appellation Sagara is one of the ten appellations used by the Dasanami Sanyasins of the Advaita-Sampradaya :

तीर्थाश्रमवनारण्यगिरिपर्वतसागराः ।
सरस्वती भारती च पुरी नामानि वै दश ॥

The Sanyasins of the Ramanuja-Sampradaya do not use any of these ten appellations. From this we can safely say that in the early centuries of the post-Ramanuja period, there was no objection to an Advaita institution flourishing in the precincts of a Vishnu temple.

There is a Vishnu temple in a village called Tirumukkudal on the banks of the Palar about 13 miles to the east of Kanchi. An inscription in this temple informs us that a college and a hospital were being maintained by the temple and that Sivagama was one of the subjects taught in that Vishnu temple College.

These two inscriptions prove that in the early centuries of the post-Ramanuja period there was no bias against the propagation of Saivite and Advaita tenets in Vishnu temples.

It is well known that the Sankara Mutt in Vishnu Kanchi is situated just a little to the West of the Varadaraja temple. This Mutt is referred to in a copper-plate inscription of the later Telugu Chola time in the following words :—

सोऽयं श्रीगण्डगोपालचोलक्ष्मापतिरात्मनः ।
पट्टाभिषेचनादूर्ध्वं वर्षे च सति षोडशे ॥
तपोधनाय मुनये शिवध्यानरतात्मने ।
स्वात्मारामाय विदुषे पोप्पिलिप्रथितात्मने ॥
श्रीहस्तिशैलनाथस्य निलयात् पश्चिमे मठे ।
निगमान्तरहस्यार्थं शिष्येभ्यस्तु विवृण्वते ॥
नित्यान्नदानविधिसन्तर्पितात्मद्विजन्मने ।
श्री शंकरार्यगुरवे वत्सरे खरसंज्ञिते ॥
* * * * *
अम्बिकापुरनामानं ग्रामचिन्तामणीन्(णिः?)ददौ ।

Some scholars may try to explain the sitting figure in the sculpture referred to above (Figure 1) as representing a Sanyasin of the Ramanuja-Sampradaya by name Alagiya-Manavala jeer or Ramya jamatri Muni and the standing figure as of one Sankara-Dasa a philanthrophist who at the bidding of Alagiya-

Manavala jeer, constructed a Mandapa in Kanchi to install the goddess Marakatavalli. As authority for the same, they may refer to an inscription in Sanskrit which states that a certain Sankara-Dasa built the Mandapa in front of the shrine of the Marakatavalli Nachchiyar at Kanchi as per the bidding of one Alagiya-manavala (No. 432, South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Madras Government Oriental Series No. CIV.)

वेदान्तद्वयतत्त्वबोधमुदितैः श्रीरम्यजामातृभिः
आज्ञातेन च धर्मविग्रहवता सङ्कल्पिते मण्डपे ।
श्रीमच्छङ्करदासनामविलसद्भक्तेन काञ्चीपुरे
श्रीलक्ष्मीर्मरकतव(ल्ल्य)सौ त्रिजगतां माता चकास्ति द्वयम् ॥

The sculpture first discussed (Figure 1) is on a pillar on the *mandapa* on the northern side of the Tayai-sannidhi of the Varadaraja temple and the goddess there is called Mahadevi (Perundevi in Tamil). She is not called Marakatavalli-Nachchiyar. This inscription relating to Alagiya-Manavala jeer and Sankara-Da a is in the Dipa-Prakasa temple, a mile to the West of Varadaraja temple and not in the Varadaraja temple itself. There is another inscription on the wall to the left of the entrance into the Dipa-Prakasa temple. This inscription states that Alagiya-Manvala jeer built *prakaras* and *mandapas* in the temple of Dipa-prakasa.

श्रीभाष्यामृतपूरपूरितमनःपद्मोल्लसन् माधवः
श्रीकाञ्चीव(पु)रभूषणैर्यतिवरै(:)श्रीरम्यजामातृभिः ।
प्राक(ा)रैरपि मण्डपैर्विरचितैर्दिव्यैर्विमानै(:)कृते
तत्सङ्कल्पितमन्दिरे विजयते दीपप्रकाशैर्हरिः ॥

According to this inscription Alagiya-Manavala jeer was a Sanyasin belonging to the Ramanuja sect. Sanyasins of that persuation alone use the appellations "jeer". The Sanyasins of this persuasion do not discard their *Sikha* and *Yajnopavita*, carry *Tridanda* and wear *Namam* (Ramanuja-tilaka—three vertical lines like three horns). We are giving here under pictures of sculptures

of such Sanyasins of Ramanuja persuasion, along with a portrait of one of the prominent Mutts belonging to Ramanuja of the present head of the Ahobila Mutt persuasion (Figures 11, 12, and 13). In all these, the Sanyasins represented have *Tridanda* and *Namam.* The sitting figure in the sculpture in the Varadaraja temple cannot be that of Alagiya Manavala Jeer because he has matted hair (*jata*) and not *sikha* on his head, wears *Rudhraksha-mala* and has no *Namam.* The sculpture in the standing posture should be that of only an Advaita Sanyasin, apparently Sri Sankaracharya. The figure clearly shows that he has no *sikha,* has *Ekadanda,* and does not wear *Yajnopavita.* He is doing Vandana, represented by the *anjali* pose with *danda.* A third inscription in the same temple in Telugu states that a chieftain (*Mithadhara*) named Sankara-Dasa renovated the *mandapas,* etc. etc., in Dipaprakasa temple.

स्वस्ति श्रीविजयाभ्युदय शालीवाहनशकाब्दाः १६५२ साधारणनाम-संवत्सरमुलो श्रीदीपप्रकाशस्वामिसन्निधियंदु अम्मवारि सन्निधिमुंदु ई मण्टपं राजश्री शंकरदास मिठाजीवारि धर्मम् ।

दीपप्रकाश(क)जगत्प्रभुसन्निधौ श्री-
श्रीमन्दिरं विजयतामिह राजधान्याम् ।
धर्मार्थिना जगति शंकरदासनाम्ना
धीरेण लोकविलसद्यशसा निबद्धम् ॥

साधारणाब्दसमयकलौ श्रीमन्दिरं चिरं विरचितमत एव तस्मात् आसूर्य-माभरजनीकर......तद्धि गृहे वसतु शङ्करदासनाम्नः ।

So the Sankara-Dasa referred to in the inscription in the Dipaprakasa temple should be a Raja or Chieftain and to a Sanyasin. Further, on the first pillar on the southern side of the outer *mandapam* of the said Tayar-sannidhi (shrine), there is a sculpture of one Sankara-Dasa with a label in Telugu script above, mentioning Raja Sri Sankara-Dasa. The diadem, the moustached countenance, the ornaments and the apparel of the

figure show that it prepresents Sankara-Dasa the Chieftain (Raja) (Figure 14).

Considering all these facts together we may safely say that the sitting figure is that of Sri Vyasa and not that of Alagiya-Manavala jeer and the standing one that of Sri Sankaracharya and not that of Sankara-Dasa.

There is a temple at Kanchi called Vyasa-Srantasrayam. On the super-structure of the main shrine of this temple there are two stucco figures (Figure 15), one representing Vyasa with his two arms raised, signifying Vyasa saying with uplifted arms before Sri Visvesvara at Kasi that there is no god higher than Kesava.

सत्यं सत्यं पुनस्सत्यम् उद्धृत्य भुजमुच्यते ।
वेदात् शास्त्रं परं नास्ति न दैवं केशवात्परम् ॥

And the other representing Vyasa sitting in the Dhyana posture. Accornding the *Kanchi-mahatmya,* Nandikesvara cursed Vyasa for saying so and as a result of the curse Vyasa was unable to move his uplifted arms. He then proceeded to Kanchi, installed a Sivalinga there in a spot called Vyasa-Srantasraya (i. e. the place resorted to by the afflicted (sranta) Vyasa and worshipped it.

काञ्चीपुरे महापुण्ये धन्यैरन्वहमाश्रिते ।

* * *

व्यासश्रान्ताश्रयं नाम स्थानं व्यासार्चितं पुरा ।
पुरा व्यासो मुनिवरः कृष्णद्वैपायनो महान् ॥ (2)
कलेरागमनाद्भीतः काश्यां वासं चकार हि ।
तत्र तं मुनयस्सर्वे सर्वयोगीश्वरेश्वरम् ॥ (3)

* * * (4)

निर्णयं परिपप्रच्छुः एकार्थत्वेन सादरम् ।
स मुनिस्तु तदा मोहात् पूर्वोक्तार्थविरोधिनीम् ॥ (5)

* * *

उत्थाय मौर्ख्यात् दुर्बुद्धिः विश्वेशान्तिकमाश्रितः ।
उद्धृत्यात्मभुजद्वन्द्वम् उच्चैरग्रेऽस्य तस्थिवान् ॥ (12)

सत्यं सत्यं पुनस्सत्यम् उद्धृत्य भुजमुच्यते ।
वेदाच्छास्त्रं परं नास्ति न दैवं केशवात्परम् ।। (13)
इत्युच्चैर्मोहतो व्यासः पपाठ मतिविभ्रमात् ।

* * (14)

तदा नन्दीश्वरः क्रुद्धः शापेनैनमयोजयत् ।
तत्प्रभावेन वैचित्र्यं व्यासबाहुरचञ्चलः ।। (15)
अतिष्ठदचलः स्तब्धः स्तम्भितोपलसन्निभः ।
व्यासोऽपि पुनराकृष्टुं तदा चालयितुं करम् ।। (16)
अशक्नुवन् तदा रेजे जयस्तम्भ इवाग्रतः ।
चकार सहसा ध्यानं वैष्णवं स मुनिर्हृदि ।। (17)
ध्यायतस्तस्य सहसा विष्णुः कृष्णवपुर्धरः ।
आविर्भूयाथ संक्रुद्धः प्रोवाच मुनिमच्युतः ।। (18)
शम्भुः सर्वेश्वरः सर्वैर्ध्येयः शास्त्रेषु निश्चितः । (20)

* * *

तमेव शरणं गच्छ मोहं त्यज मुनेऽधुना ।। (27)

* * *

इति क्रुद्धस्य वै विष्णोः वचः श्रुत्वाऽतिनिष्ठुरम् । (28)

* * *

मुनीनपि च तान् व्यासः प्रोवाच समुद्वीक्ष्य सः ।। (29)

* * *

यस्य शक्तिः परा रम्या भावगम्या मनोरमा ।
स एव सर्वशास्त्राणां निर्णयस्समुदाहृतः ।। (42)
तस्याङ्घ्रिकमलद्वन्द्वं व्रजामि शरणं सदा । (43)
अन्यं वेद्मि न शम्भोस्तदहं मह्यं प्रसीदतु ।। (44)
इति प्रार्थयते तस्मै प्रससाद पिनाकभृत् ।। (46)

* * *

त्वं तु वेदविदां श्रेष्ठो वेदान्तार्थविचारणः । (61)

Figure 1



VYASA AND SANKARA
at Varadaraja Temple, Kanci

Figure 2



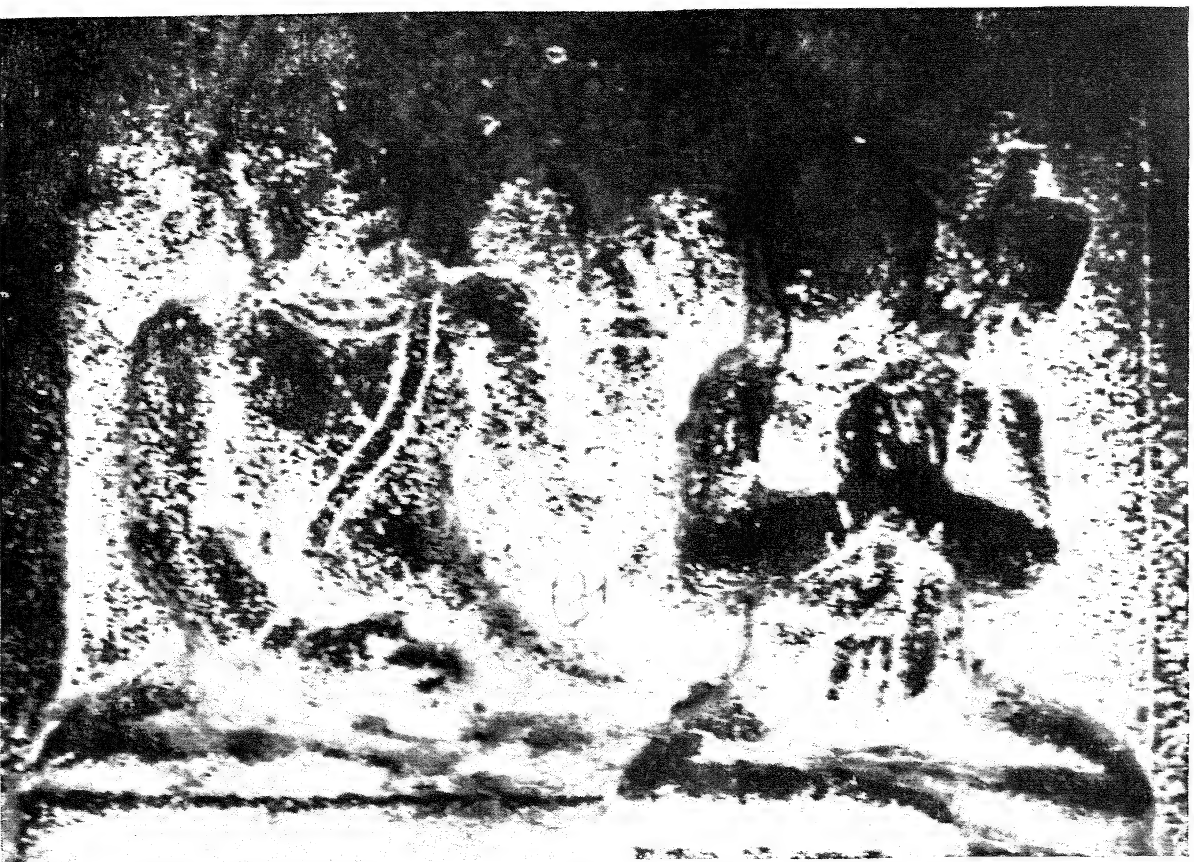
Ekadandi Sannyasin, most probably Sankara, in the Vasanta Mandapa in Varadaraja Temple, Kanci

Figure 3



Another Ekadandi, most probably Sankara, on the Eastern Wall, in the 2nd Prakara, Varadaraja Temple, Kanci

Figure 4



VYASA & SANKARA in the 100-Pillar Mandapam, Varadaraja Temple, Kanci

Figure 5



Sankara at Vaikuntha Perumal Temple, Kanci

Figure 6



Sankara in Vishnu temple, Sevilimedu at outskirts of Kanci

Figure 7



Sankara at Punyakotisvara Temple, Kanci

Figure 8



Sankara at Kumarakotta Temple, Kanci

Figure 9



Sankara at Kacchapesvara Temple, Kanci

Figure 10



Sankara at Ekamresvara Temple, Kanci

Figure 11



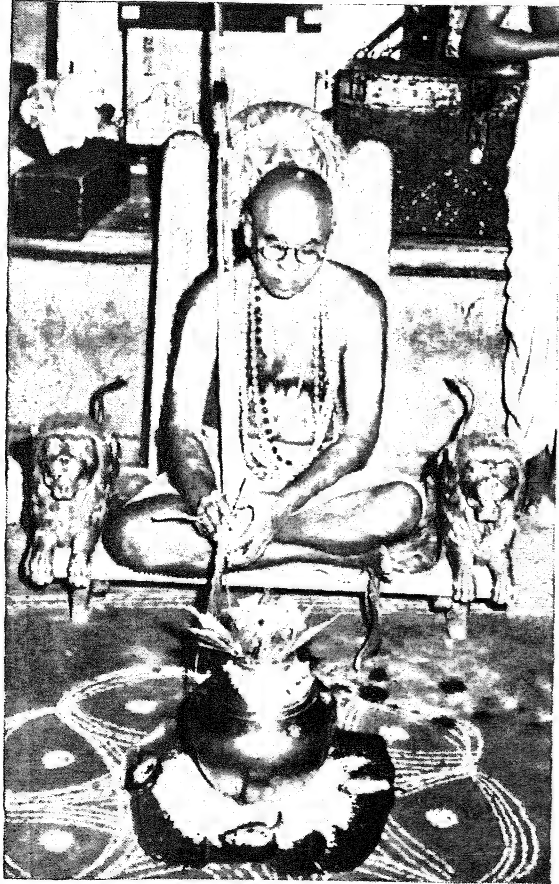
Tridandi Sannyasin of Ramanuja Sampradaya

Figure 12



Tridandi Ramanuja Sampradaya Sannyasin

Figure 13



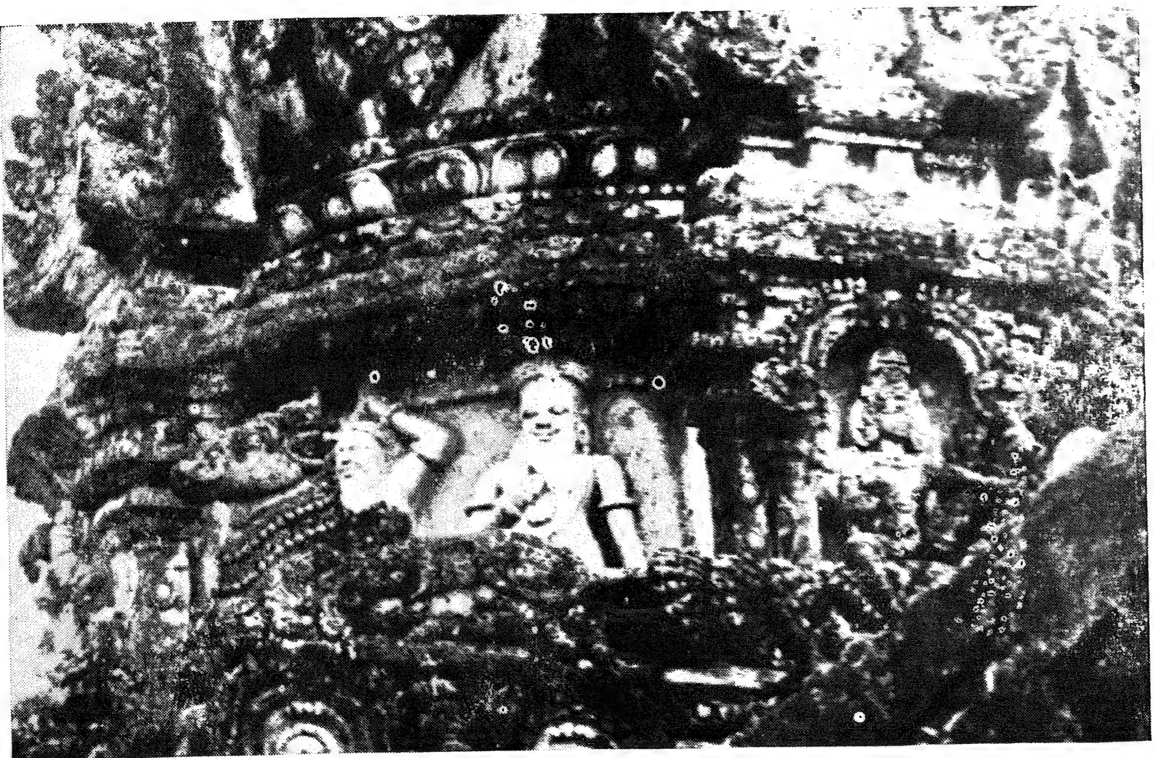
H. H. Mukkur Ahobilam Jeer
of Ramanuja Sampradaya

Figure 14



The Mitadhar - philonthrophist Sankaradasa

Figure 15



VYASA at the temple Vyasa Srantasrma at Kanci

मामुपास्य भवेरद्य विमुक्तस्स्वात्मसंस्तुतेः ।
इत्युक्त्वाऽन्तर्दधे देवः साम्बः संसारभेदनः ॥ (62)
व्यासोऽपि भीतभीतस्सन् श्रुत्वा शंभोस्तु भाषितम् ।
मुहूर्तं ध्यानमास्थाय शर्वस्य गिरिजापतेः ॥ (63)

* * *

काश्यां विश्वेश्वरः स्वामी कारुण्यामृतवारिधिः । (65)
प्रसीदति न सन्देहो पुरभिद्भगवानिति ।
इतोऽपि काञ्ची देवस्य प्रिया देव्या विशेषतः ॥ (66)
तत्र मुक्तिस्तु सुकरो निर्विघ्नेन कृपाबलात् ।
मृत्येह मुक्तिर्मर्त्यानां काञ्च्यां स्मृत्याखिलात्मनाम् ॥ (67)
निश्चित्य काञ्चीमगमत् विश्वस्यैकाम्रनायकम् ।
आसाद्य काञ्चीं तरसा व्यासः शिष्यगणावृतः ॥ (68)

* * *

शिवलिङ्गं प्रतिष्ठाप्य व्यासः शान्ताश्रयेश्वरम् । (70)
पूजयामास पुण्यात्मा नित्यं भूतपतिं मुदा ।
पूजया तस्य सन्तुष्टः पुरारिरमरारिहा ॥ (71)

(काञ्चीमाहात्म्ये - १०अध्याये)

One of the two stucco images of the Vyasa-Srantasraya temple mentioned above is similar to the sculpture in the Varadarajasvami temple (Figure 1). From this also we may infer that the sitting sculpture in the Varadaraja temple has been the model for other Vyasa images. In the images occurring in both Varadaraja temple and the Vyasa-Srantasraya temple, there is a resemblance in the facial expression and the *jata-baddha-kalapa*. But the image of Vyasa with uplifted arms on the super-structure represents Vyāsa in an afflicted mood, whereas the other image represents him in a happier mood, his affliction having been removed by his worshiping the Sivalinga at Kanchi-kshetra.

Notes and Comments

MAHĀBHĀRATA ON THE CONNECTION BETWEEN VIŚVĀMITRA AND THE AUDUMBARAS.

[पुराणपत्रिकायाः पूर्वस्मिन्नङ्के औदुम्बराणां विश्वामित्रेण सह सम्बन्धविषये एको लेखः प्रकाशित आसीत्। तत्र विश्वामित्रजन्मना सह उदुम्बरवृक्षस्य सम्बन्धः कालिकापुराणाद् वर्णितः। प्रस्तुत-लेखे महाभारतग्रन्थस्य आधारोऽप्यस्मिन् विषये निर्दिष्टः। महाभारते त्रिषु स्थलेषु विश्वामित्रजन्मकथा वर्तते—अनुशासनपर्वणि, वनपर्वणि, शान्तिपर्वणि च। पूर्वयोर्द्वयोः स्थलयोरेव विश्वामित्रजन्मना सह उदुम्बरवृक्षस्य सम्बन्धो वर्णितः। येन सम्बन्धेन हेतुना औदुम्बराणां विश्वामित्रेण सह सम्बन्धः प्रसिद्धो बभूव।]

In his interesting article 'The Purāṇas on the Audumbaras' publised in Vol. VII, Part 1, pp. 186-190 of this journal, Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta has drawn our attention to certain passages of the *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Harivaṁśa* and the *Kālikā* Purāṇas which throw valuable light on the connection between the sage Viśvāmitra and the Audumbaras which is also known from two silver coins of the latter. He has in particular quoted at length the story of the birth of Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni as found in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. Dr. Dasgupta deserves our congratulations for solving this riddle in the annals of the Audumbaras.

The *Kālikā Purāṇa*, from which Dr. Dasgupta has cited the above-mentioned story, is in its present form assignable to a date between the seventh and the tenth centuries A. D. It would be interesting to see if this story could be traced to an earlier date, and our hopes are more than rewarded by the fact that it occurs at three different places in the *Mahābhārata*, its most developed version being found in Ch. 14 of the Anuśāsanaparva[1]. The story there runs as follows:

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1. For the purpose of this article I have used the edition of the *Mahābhārata* published by Gita Press, Gorakhpur.

King Gādhi, the son of Kuśika, had no son. He retired to the forest where a beautiful daughter named Satyavatī was born to him. The Ṛcīka, son of Cyavana and a scion of the Bhārgava family, offered to marry her. At first Gādhi rejected the proposal of Ṛcīka because of his poverty. But on being approached again, he demanded of Ṛcīka one thousand white speedy horses each with one of the ears black as *śulka*. Ṛcīka procured the horses from the god Varuṇa on the bank of the river Gaṅgā near Kānyakubja (Kanauj), presented them to King Gādhi, and got himself married to Satyavatī. Being very much pleased with his newly wedded wife, Ṛcīka offered to grant her a boon. She talked about it to her mother, who had no son and therefore asked her to get a son granted to her also. She communicated her mother's desire to Ṛicīka, who granted their requests, prepared two separate *carus* for them and asked Satyavatī to embrace the *udumbara* tree and her mother the aśvattha tree. She told all this to her mother at whose cunning suggestion she agreed to an exchange of the trees and the *carus* i.e. she embraced the *aśvattha* tree and took the *caru* meant for her mother, and the latter embraced the *udumbara* tree and ate the *caru* of her daughter. Both became pregnant. Ṛcīka knew all this by intuition and told his wife that he had sanctified her *caru* for the birth of a Brāhmaṇa and of her mother for the birth of a Kṣatriya, and that now as they had exchanged their respective *carus* and trees she would give birth to a Kṣatriya of cruel deeds and her mother would bear a great Brāhmaṇa. At this, Satyavatī fainted and fell down upon the earth like a cut-off creeper. On regaining consciousness, she pleased him and requested that her grandson, and not son, be endowed with the disposition of a Kṣatriya. Ṛcīka granted this request: In due course, Satyavatī bore Jamadagni while her mother (Gādhi's wife) gave birth to Viśvāmitra, who, though Kṣatriya by birth, became progenitor of a Brāhmaṇa family.

The story given above from the Anuśāsanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* differs in certain respects from that found in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*. Thus, while according to the Anuśāsanaparva, Ṛcīka was the son of Cyavana, the *Kālikā Purāṇa* makes him

out to be son of Bhṛgu himself. According to the former, the boons to Satyavatī and her mother were granted by Ṛcīka, while according to the latter work they were granted by Bhṛgu, and not by Ṛcīka. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* states that the *carus* meant for Satyavatī and her mother were white and red respectively, while the *Mahābhārata* is silent about the colour of the *carus*.

With some differences this story recurs in Ch. 115, vv. 20-50 of the Tīrthayātrā section of the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata*. Here Ṛcīka is said to have been the son of Bhṛgu, and the name of Cyavana is conspicuous by its absence. It is stated that after Ṛcīka's marriage Bhṛgu came to see his son and daughter-in-law, who received him in a befitting manner and stood before him with folded hands. The boons are said to have been given and the prediction of the birth of the sons made by Bhṛgu, and not by Ṛcīka. No reason for the exchange of the *carus* and the trees is given here, whereas according to the Anuśāsanaparva story it was due to the cunningness of Gādhi's wife who wanted to have for herself a son better than that of her daughter Satyavatī. Lastly, as the story in the Vanaparva is given in connection with the Paraśurāmopākhyāna, the birth of Jamadagni alone is mentioned, and the birth of the sage Viśvāmitra has been left to be guessed by the readers.

The third place where this story is to be found in the *Mahābhārata* is Ch. 49, vv. 6-30 of the Śāntiparva. The story is retold here with some difference. Thus, Ṛcīka is described as Bhṛgu's son, but the *carus* for the birth of his own son and that of his father-in-law are said to have been prepared by Ṛcīka himself. The *udumbara* and *aśvattha* trees are not mentioned at all, and the exchange of *carus* between Satyavatī and her mother is attributed to their ignorance.

The first two versions of the story as narrated in the *Mahābhārata* leave no room for doubt that tradition established a connection between the *udumbara* tree and the birth of Viśvāmitra, for it was by embracing that tree that Gādhi's wife gave birth to him. It was evidently because of this tradition that the

Audumbaras regarded themselves as descendants of Viśvāmitra as is obvious from the known specimens of the silver coins of the Audumbara chief Dharaghoṣa the obverse of which contains a representation of the sage and his name (Viśpamitra) in the accompanying Kharoṣṭhi legend. It is interesting to note in this connection that this is the only known representation of a sage on early Indian coins. In fact, as I have suggested elsewhere,[1] the figure of the sage Viśvāmitra must have been the characteristic obverse device of the silver coins of the Audumbaras, although so far silver coins of Dharaghoṣa alone of all the Audumbara chiefs are known to exist.[2]

It would not be a miss to mention here that on the reverse of the two silver coins of Dharaghoṣa we find, among other symbols, representation of a tree within railing.[2a] With some hesitation[3], Cunningham had suggested the possibility of identifying it with the *udumbara* or fig tree.[4] In view of the tradition regarding the connection between the *udumbara* tree and the birth of Viśvāmitra, the progenitor of the Audumbaras, cited above, cunningham's suggestion appears to be quite probable, though not absolutely certain.

The references to the connection between the *udumbara* tree and the birth of Viśvāmitra which we have cited above from the *Mahābhārata* appear to be the earliest known so far. The

1. Vide my paper 'Some Observations on Audumbara Coinage' in the *Joural of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XXVI, Part II.
2. J. Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in the British Museum*, p. 124 Pl. XIV, 14 ; R.B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Puujab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, p. 167, Pl. XVI No. 137 ; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 67-68, pl. IV, 1. The figure of Viśvāmitra on these coins bears a close resemblance to that of standing Herakles crowning himself found on certain Indo-Greek coins. Cunningham, evidently unaware of the connection between Viśvāmitra and the Audumbaras, regarded the figure as that of Śiva.

2a. The tree within railing is represented on the obverse of all the Audumbara copper coins also.

3. As is indicated by the question mark.
4. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 68.

Bṛhad-devatā, Ch. IV, vv. 95ff. describes a number of legends relating to the sage Viśvāmitra, and in verse 114 there is a reference to some relationship between him and Jamadagni. But there is no allusion at all to the tradition in question. In the Bālakāṇḍa of the *Vālmīkīya Rāmāyaṇa* the story of Viśvāmitra is recounted, and Ch. 34 contains a long description of his sister Satyavatī,[1] but we get no reference to the connection between the birth of the sage Viśvāmitra and the *udumbara* tree.

—AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

1. Gujarati Printing Press (Bombay) Edition, Vol. I, pp. 236ff.

THE TRACES OF ŚUKADEVA'S HOUSEHOLD LIFE IN THE PURĀṆAS

[महर्षिव्यासस्य पुत्रः शुको जन्मनैव वीतराग आसीत्, अतः स गृहस्थाश्रमं न स्वीचकारेति केषुचित् पुराणेषु कथ्यते, विशेषतो नारदीयपुराणे। देवीभागवते शुकस्य गार्हस्थ्यं निर्दिश्यते, तस्य पत्नी संतानानि चापि तत्र निर्दिश्यन्ते। इदं पुराणपत्रिकाया गताङ्के प्रकाशिते स्वलेखे श्री बेडेकरमहोदयेन कथितमासीत्। परन्तु, अन्येस्वपि बहुषु पुराणेषु शुकस्य पत्नी संतानानि च निर्दिष्टानीति सोदाहरणमत्र प्रदर्शितम्।]

At the end of the article 'The story of Śuka in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas' published in '*Purāṇa*', VII, No. 1, its author has also discussed the household life of Śuka. In his opinion it is only the Devī-Bhāgavata which mentions the wife and children of Śuka. But the wife and children of Śukadeva are mentioned in the majority of the Purāṇas. Some are noted below :—

Bhāgavata (IX. 21. 25)—

स कृत्व्यां शुककन्यायां ब्रह्मदत्तमजीजनत्।
स योगी गवि भार्यायां विष्वक्सेनमधात् सुतम्॥

Śrīdhara in his commentary (भावार्थदीपिका) explains this verse as follows :—

"स (नीपः) कृत्व्यां कृत्वीसंज्ञायां शुककन्यायां ब्रह्मदत्तं जनयामास। तदुक्तं हरिवंशादिषु—

पराशरकुलोत्पन्नः शुको नाम महायशाः।
व्यासादरण्यां संभूतो विधूमोऽग्निरिवोज्ज्वलन्॥
स तस्यां पितृकन्यायां वीरिण्यां जनयिष्यति।
कृष्णं गौरप्रभुं शम्भुं तथा भूरिश्रुतं जयम्॥
कन्यां कीर्तिमतीं षष्ठी योगिनीं योगमातरम्।
ब्रह्मदत्तस्य जननीं महिषीमणुहस्य च॥

(Hariv. I. 18. 50-53)

यद्यपि शुक उत्पत्त्यैव विमुक्तसङ्गो निर्गतः, तथापि ...छायाशुकं निर्माय गतवान् । तदभिप्रायेणैव गार्हस्थ्यादिव्यवहारः ॥"

Thus according to Śrīdhara, though Śuka renounced the world soon after his birth, yet he left his *shadow* for the consolation of his father, Vyāsa, and this shadow of Śuka entered the life of a householder, and begot children (This fact, however, is not mentioned in any of the Purāṇas).

Vīrarāghavāchārya in his commentary (भागवतचन्द्रचन्द्रिका) also explains this verse almost in the same way and gives all the above verses from the Harivaṁśa. All other commentators also (as Viśvanātha Chakravarti, Jīvagosvāmin, etc) explain this verse alike and quote the same verses. Jīva gives also a story from the Brahma-vaivarta Purāṇa, but it is not found in the present Brahma-vaivarta.

Vāyu-Purāṇa (Mor edn., 73. 26-31) :—

It Gives the same verses as quoted from the Harivaṁśa, with some variants. They are :—

एतेषां मानसी कन्या पीवरी नाम विश्रुता ।
योगिनी योगपत्नी च योगमाता तथैव च ।
पराशरकुलोद्भूतः शुको नाम महातपाः ।
व्यासादरण्यां संभूतो विधूम इव पावकः ॥
स तस्यां पितृकन्यायां योगाचार्यान् परिश्रुतान् ।
कृष्णं गौरं प्रभुं शम्भुं तथा भूरिश्रुतं च वै ॥
कन्यां कीर्तिमतीं चैव योगिनीं योगमातरम् ।
ब्रह्मदत्तस्य जननीं महिषीं त्वणुहस्य तु ॥

Vāyu-Purāṇa, 70. 85-86, also refers to these sons and daughter of Śuka.

Padma-Purāṇa, Srishṭi-Khaṇḍa, 9. 39-40, also refers to the wife (पीवरी), five sons and one daughter (कृत्वी) of Śuka.

Matsya, 15. 8-10, also gives the verses like the Padma-Purāṇa with some variations.

Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (4. 19. 44) :—

This Purāṇa mentions the name of the daughter of Śuka as 'कीर्त्ति' instead of 'कृत्वी'—

'यः शुकदुहितरं कीर्तिं नामोपयेमे ।'

Viṣṇucitta and Śrīdhara both explain it as—

'शुकदुहितरं व्यासपुत्रदुहितरम् । यथा हरिवंशे वायव्ये च ।'

In *Harivaṁśa* we get this topic at several places, e. g.—

'प्रादात्कन्यां शुकस्तस्मै कृत्वीं पूजितलक्षणाम् ।' (I. 23. 6)

Harivaṁśa, 1. 18. 58, says—

तवैव वंशे या दत्ता शुकस्य महिषी प्रिया ।
एकशृङ्गेति विख्याता साध्यानां कीर्त्तिवर्धिनी ॥

Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator, here remarks—

'शुकस्येयमपरा भार्या ।'

—JANAKINATH SHARMA

RĀJANĪTI SECTION
OF
THE PURĀṆĀRTHASAṄGRAHA

EDITED BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

INTRODUCTION

In a former issue of this Bulletin, Volume V. Number 1, pp. 47-60, I gave an account of an interesting work called *Purāṇārthasaṅgraha* by Veṅkaṭarāya, preserved in South Indian manuscripts. My account of the work was based on three manuscripts of it in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library and the Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras. As I said in that paper and as would be evident from my analysis of its contents given there, this work, otherwise called *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇīya*, is a kind of a Purāṇa digest or Purāṇa-*nibandha*. There are some more compilations of this type which should be brought to light, and work on them would form useful contributory studies to the Purāṇa project.

Ch. XI of the *Purāṇārthasaṅgraha* deals with Nīti or proper conduct and Rājanīti or polity, as I pointed out on p. 58 of the above mentioned paper. Each principle or maxim is enunciated in one line and in the next line, illustrated with an episode from the Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature. I also drew attention to Kṣemendra's *Cārucaryā*, a didactic work which adopted this method. Another published work of the same type is the *Upadeśaśataka* of Gumāni Kavi published in the same Kāvyamālā (Gucchaka II. pp. 20.28).

The illustrations given in this section, when pursued, offered really difficult and sometimes intriguing material. They were drawn from diverse sources, and some of them being out of the way and even obscure, it was quite a task to trace them to some source. It became clear that almost all Purāṇas had to be examined. For one dealing with the Purāṇas, in connection with

the special work on the Matsya, this hunt for identification of the names and episodes mentioned here served a useful purpose, as it drove me to all the nooks and corners of Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature, including local and little known versions and Purāṇic echoes in classical and local literature. Owing to its dual interest, the didactic and the Purāṇic, I thought, this section could be edited separately with identifications of the characters and stories cited therein.

The three manuscripts in the Madras and Adyar Libraries were unsatisfactory; passages were corrupt and there were also a few gaps. There are four manuscripts of the work in the Oriental Library, Mysore (1922 Catalogue, p. 167) of which one ms. does not go up to the section edited here. The three other Mysore manuscripts, two in Devanāgarī and one in Grantha, were also collated (Nos. 47, 2618 and 2882). The two manuscripts of the Madras Government Oriental Library used are D. 2469 and 15622 and the Adyar manuscript used is T. R. 785 (62031). See pp. 47-48 of my earlier paper on this work. I am thankful to the authorities of the Oriental Library, Mysore for the collations of the Mysore manuscripts. The collations and co-ordination in Madras were done by Pandits A. M. Srinivaschari and S. Sambandhan of the Purāṇa Staff. The Mysore manuscripts were helpful in filling the small gaps here and there in the Madras and Adyar manuscripts, and in offering better readings in some places. In one of the Mysore manuscripts (no. 47), verses 84c-d and 85 are missing; in the Madras and Adyar manuscripts, verse 71 is read again as 109 but no such repetition is seen in the Mysore manuscripts. In the Madras and Adyar manuscripts, after 112, three lines, one whole verse and the first line of the next (112, 113 in the edited text) are missing and they have been restored from the Mysore manuscripts, all of which read them; as they are, the Madras and Adyar manuscripts have in 113 only the illustration and not the Nīti. In other places, the manuscripts, from Madras as well as Mysore, have all sorts of corruptions and the tracing of the illustrative stories and their accounts in the sources have helped in dealing with these tough

passages and in suggesting restorations for them. Where difficulties could not be resolved, the manuscript-position has been indicated in the footnotes.

Genuine variants worth recording are not many. Such as are noted may be given by verse and foot numbers :

1c. मै. १. कल्याणकर 5d. मै, १, २, ४. नीतिमार्गेण 11a. मै. १, २, ३. कलयेत् 27 c. मै. १, २, ३. भृगुवाक्येन 59 d. अडयार् मै. ३. देवार्थितः 92 b. मै. १. स्थितो याति 99 d. मै. १, २, ३. क्षिप्त्वेन्द्रः.

The foot-notes have been made as full as required. A few cases have been pointed out there upon which further clarification from the Purāṇas is needed and it is hoped that scholars who could locate the stories or story-elements remaining to be identified will communicate their findings. It may be seen that this series of Nīti-maxims and the illustrative episodes cover a wide field and the permeation of these ideas and ideals of Itihāsa-Purāṇa cover the whole range of Sanskrit literature, including the Kāvyas. There are ideas and story-elements present in the traditional beliefs and popular minds whose literary sources are not found in the major Purāṇas in Sanskrit but could be seen in lesser known texts and versions and in regional literature and religious beliefs, temples etc. Great as the Itihāsa-Purāṇa is, we have in such works as the one now dealt with here, an idea of the world of 'Greater Purāṇa' whose frontiers extend over the whole country and all its languages and literatures, which yet remain to be surveyed fully and which would, in the very nature of this spread, defy demarcation.

Madras. V. RAGHAVAN

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ पुराणार्थसंग्रहादुद्धृता सोदाहरणा राजनीतिः ॥

लक्ष्मीः—

श्रीमत्(न्) कमलपत्राक्ष कमलोद्भवसन्नुत ।
कल्याणाकर कंसारे कामितार्थफलप्रद ॥ १ ॥

राजनीतिः श्रुता त्वत्तः तथाप्युत्कण्ठते मनः ।
वेदस्मृतिपुराणेषु वाल्मीकीये च भारते ॥
प्रोक्तेतिहाससहितां राजनीतिं वद प्रभो ॥ २ ॥

नारायणः—

षट्चक्रवर्तिभूपानां द्व्यष्टभूमिभुजामपि ।
सप्तर्षीणां च पञ्चानां कन्यानां चिरजीविनाम् ॥ ३ ॥

पङ्क्तिस्यन्दनपाण्ड्वादिपुण्यक्षोणीभुजामपि ।
ब्रह्मविष्णुमहेशादिदेवानां च द्विजन्मनाम् ॥ ४ ॥

सतीनां च सुपुत्राणां वृत्तोदाहरणोज्ज्वलाम् ।
राजनीतिं प्रवक्ष्यामि शृणु त्वं कमलेक्षणे ॥
श्लोकार्धेन प्रवक्ष्यामि नीतिमन्येन तत्कथाम् ॥ ५ ॥

सत्यमेव परं राज्ञामिहामुत्र च तारकम् ।
[1]हरिश्चन्द्रस्सत्यवाक्यः भुवि स्वर्गे च रक्षितः ॥ ६ ॥
स्वस्याधिकैर्वृतां कन्यां नोद्वहेत्कामुकोति ताम् ।
वैदर्भीं प्रार्थितां देवैरूढ्वारण्यमगान्नलः[2] ॥ ७ ॥

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१. देवीभागवते ७. १४-२७ ; मार्कण्डेये ८

२. महाभारते वन° ५०-७७

पालिता धरणी कृत्स्ना येन सर्वोत्तरो हि सः ।
षट्कोटिसंख्यान् गन्धर्वान् हत्वा संरक्ष्य पन्नगान् ।
सप्तद्वीपयुता भूमिः [3]पुरुकुत्सेन रक्षिता ॥ ८ ॥

*अतिरूपवती पुत्रवती स्त्री धन्य एव सः ।
लब्ध्वोर्वशीमजनयत् †दशपुत्रान् [4]पुरूरवाः ॥ ९ ॥

राजधर्मः प्रजारक्षा तदनिष्टं नरं त्यजेत् ।
[5]सगरेण प्रजारक्षानिष्टस्त्यक्तोऽसमञ्जसः ॥ १० ॥

विचार्य विल(नः?)येद् भूपः जनान् सत्पथगामिनः ।
जनानकार्यस्मरणे [6]कार्तवीर्यो ह्यशिक्षयत् ॥ ११ ॥

अनाश्रिते (श्रवे ?) हस्तगुरौ अवज्ञां कल्पयेन्नृपः ।
संवर्तेन [7]मरुत्तस्तु निरस्तमकरोद्गुरुम् ॥ १२ ॥

यः पालयति धर्मेण तद्राज्ये श्रीर्विवर्धते ।
सुहोत्रराज्ये [8]देवेन्द्रः स्वर्णवर्षं ववर्ष हि ॥ १३ ॥

शिक्षाक्षरविभागज्ञानार्जयेद्विदुषो नृपः ।
विद्वद्भ्यः स्वर्णमत्तेभा[9]नङ्गेशः पौरवो ह्यदात् ॥ १४ ॥

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३. भागवते ९. ७. २, ३ ; विष्णौ ४. ३. १-१५

* 'अतिरूपवती' इत्यत्र 'यस्य रूपवती' इति पाठः स्यात् ।

† अत्र दशपुत्रान् अजनयत् इति दृश्यते । विष्णौ, भारते, भागवते च षट्, हरिवंशे सप्त, मत्स्ये अष्टौ, इत्येव पुत्राणां संख्या दृश्यते ।

४. महाभारते आदि° ६१. २१—२७ ; भागवते ९. १५. १ ; हरिवंशे १. २६. १० ; मत्स्ये २४. ३३ ; विष्णौ ४. ७. १

५. रामायणे १. ३८. २२ ; भागवते ९. ८ १५-१९

६. रघुवंशे ६. ३९ 'अकार्यचिन्तासमकालमेव प्रादुर्भवंश्चापधरः पुरस्तात्' ।
वायौ ९४. २४
हरिवंशे १. ३३ १२
महाभारते सभा° ९६. ३२
'अधर्मे वर्तमानस्य सद्भिस्तत्र निवारणम् ।' इति सर्वत्र ।

७. महाभारते आश्व° ९. १० ; मार्कण्डेये १२५ -१२८

८. महाभारते द्रोण° ५६. ५ 'यस्मै ववर्ष पर्जन्यः हिरण्यं परिवत्सरान् ।'

९. महाभारते द्रोण° ५७. २. ५—७

कर्तव्यं भूमिपालेन शरणागतरक्षणम् ।
कपोतरक्षणं श्येनात्कृत्वा कीर्त्तिं [१०]शिबिर्गतः ॥ १५ ॥

भूपेषु गुणिषु श्लाघ्यो यो राजा जनरञ्जकः ।
स्थिते पङ्क्तिरथे [११]रामः प्रार्थितो जनरञ्जनात् ॥ १६ ॥

पापी च स्वर्गमाप्नोति सुपुत्रः स्याद्यदन्वये ।
आसीत् (सन्?) भगीरथोत्तीर्णाः *विप्रशप्ताश्च[१२] सागराः ॥१७॥

गोपूजा भूभुजा कार्या तया स्युस्तनयादयः ।
[१३]दिलीपः पुत्रमगमत् †कामधेनुप्रपूजया ॥ १८ ॥

हितोक्त्या वञ्चयन् शत्रुं हितमन्येन मारयेत् ।
इन्द्रं जिगीषु[१४]र्मान्धाता लवणेन निपातितः ॥ १९ ॥

सभामध्ये महीपालः स्वस्य पुण्यं न कीर्तयेत् ।
[१५]ययातिरपतद् भूमौ स्वपुण्योक्त्येन्द्रसंसदि ॥ २० ॥

ब्राह्मणं सार्वभौमोऽपि नीचकृत्ये न योजयेत् ।
[१६]नहुषोऽभूदहिर्यानवहनेऽगस्त्यचोदनात् ॥ २१ ॥

दृढव्रतो भवेद्राजा प्राप्ते विघ्नेऽपि कालतः ।
मुक्तोऽभू[१७]दम्बरीषस्तु द्वादश्यां व्रतमाचरन् ॥ २२ ॥

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१०. महाभारते वन° १३३

११. रामायणे अयोध्या° २. २२

* अत्र विप्रशब्देन कपिलः अभिप्रेतः ।

१२ रामायणे बाल° ४३. ४२, ४३

१३. पद्मे उत्तर° १९८, १९९ ; रघुवंशे १. ७५—८१, २ ६२—७०

† नन्दिन्याराधनेनापि अन्ततः कामधेन्वाः राज्ञा अनादृतायाः पूजा उद्देश्यत्वेन भवतीति कामधेनुप्रपूजयेत्युक्तम् । 'सुतां तदीयां सुरभेः कृत्वा प्रतिनिधिं शुचिः' 'इमामनूनां सुरभेरवेहि' इति च कण्ठतः कविना ।

१४. रामायणे उत्तर° ६७ हितभूतं शत्रुं वञ्चयन् पुरुषान्तरद्वारा हन्यादित्यर्थः । तथा इन्द्रस्पर्धी मान्धाता इन्द्रेण लवणद्वारा मारितः ।

१५ महाभारते आदि° ८२. १-३ ; मत्स्ये ३७. १-३

१६ महाभारते आदि° ८२. ३६—४० ; देवीभागवते ६. ९

१७. भागवते ९. ४ ५

दक्षिणा बहुला यज्ञे दातव्या भूभुजा भुवि ।
*कन्यारथेभाश्वगवी[18]र्गयोऽदाद्युतोत्तराः ॥ २३ ॥

आतिथ्यं ब्राह्मणानां तु कुर्यात्प्रतिदिनं गृहे ।
आतिथ्ये [19]रन्तिदेवस्य मधुपर्कं गवां शतम् ॥ २४ ॥

जनान् संपोषयेद्राजा राज्ये सस्यादि वर्धयन् ।
अकृष्टपच्यां पृथिवीं कृत्वारक्षज्जनान् [20]पृथुः ॥ २५ ॥

राज्ञामावश्यकस्सर्वगुणेष्वपि पराक्रमः ।
सिंहादीन् मर्दयन् [21]सर्वदमनो भरतोऽभवत् ॥ २६ ॥

सुपुत्रः पितृवाक्यार्थं कलयेदविचारयन् ।
रेणुकां पितृवाक्येन सोऽवधीद् [22]भृगुनन्दनः ॥ २७ ॥

पापोद्युक्तं सुतं राजा शिक्षयेदसुतो न चेत् ।
[23]हत्वा शुकीसुतं स्वर्णष्ठीवी सृञ्जयजो हतः ॥ २८ ॥

सप्तर्षिचरितम्—

जाताश्चेद्बहुलाः पुत्राः तेष्वेकोऽभूद्धुरन्धरः ।
काश्यपस्य तनूजेषु [24]शक्रस्त्रैलोक्यनायकः ॥ २९ ॥

यद्वाक्यमवदत् , सत्यं तद्वाक्यं साधयेन्नृपः ।
[25]वीतहव्यनृपं त्वत्र व्यतनोद्ब्राह्मणं पुरुः (भृगुः ?) ॥ ३० ॥

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* गवाश्वान्नधनानामेव दानं महाभारते दृश्यते ।

१८ महाभारते द्रोण° ६६ ; शान्ति° २८. १११-११८

१९ महाभारते द्रोण° ६७ ; शान्ति° २८ १२०-१२९

२० भागवते ४. १८ २९ ; मत्स्ये १० ३६ ; विष्णौ १. १३. ५० ; महाभारते शान्ति° २८. १४० 'अकृष्टपच्या पृथिवी पुटके पुटके मधु'

२१. महाभारते आदि° ६५ २१-३२

२२. महाभारते वन° ११७. १४, १५

२३. श्लोकार्धस्य अन्वयः, कथाया आकरः उभावप्यस्पष्टौ । प्रसिद्धा स्वर्णष्ठीविकथा महाभारते द्रोण° ५५ ; शान्ति° २६, ३० दृश्यमाना कथांशमेतं न स्पृशति ।

२४. मत्स्ये २४५. ८२-८४ ; २६६ ४९

२५. महाभारते अनु° ८

तपः कृतं चेत्सकलं वश्यं स्यादार्जयेत्तपः ।
आहृतं भरतातिथ्ये [२६]भरद्वाजेन चाखिलम् ॥३१॥
कन्यां रूपवतीं दृष्ट्वा मोहं गच्छेन्महानपि ।
चण्डाल्यामप्यरुन्धत्यां [२७]वसिष्ठो मोहितोऽभवत् ॥३२॥
स्त्रीसान्निध्यं तपोविघ्नः शमिनो दमिनोऽपि वा ।
त्यक्त्वा तपः कामुकोऽभून्मेनकां वीक्ष्य [२८]गाधिजः ॥३३॥
अल्पतोऽधिकतस्साध्यं लघुनैव प्रसाधयेत् ।
भूप्रदक्षिणतोऽहल्यां [२९]गौतमः कपिलां भ्रमन्* ॥३४॥
भूमिपालस्यानुकूल्यं नाचरन् दुःखमश्नुते ।
[३०]जमदग्नी राजकोपान् मृतोऽभूच्छस्त्र(त्रुः)दारितः ॥३५॥

नित्यकन्यकाः—

कामातुरो नाधिगच्छेन्महापुरुषकामिनीम् ।
सहस्रयोनिदेहोऽभूद् [३१]इन्द्रोऽहल्यापरिग्रहात् ॥३६॥
असकृन्न वदेदाशां प्रार्थयेद्देवतां सकृत् ।
[३२]नालायनी पञ्च पतीन् प्रापोच्चार्य पुनः पुनः ॥३७॥
स्वोत्कृष्टस्य स्त्रियं नेच्छेत् तया मृत्युर्भवेद्ध्रुवम् ।
सबान्धवो मृतिं लेभे सीतामिच्छन् [३३]दशाननः ॥३८॥
युक्तियुक्तं वचो ग्राह्यं स्त्रीवाक्यमिति न त्यजेत् ।
अशृण्वंस्तारया प्रोक्तं [३४]वाली प्राप मृतिं रणे ॥३९॥

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२६. रामायणे अयोध्या° ९१
२७. स्कान्दे प्रभास° १२६ ; मनुस्मृतौ ९. २३
२८. रामायणे बाल° ६३. ४-८
२९. ब्रह्म° ८७. १६-२१
* लेभे इत्यध्याहार्यम्
३०. भागवते ९. १६. ९-११
३१. ब्रह्म° ८७. ४१ - ५९
३२. महाभारते आदि° २१३. १६, १७
३३. रामायणे
३४. रामायणे किष्किन्धा° १५ ; महाभारते वन° २८१. १७—३९

वीरपत्नी वीरमाता धन्या सा महिषी सती ।
[35]मन्दोदरी तथाभूता रूपेणाप्रतिमा भुवि ॥४०॥

ममता दुस्सहा लोके ममता प्राणहारिणी ।
अश्वत्थाम्नि (म्नोः) मृतिं श्रुत्वा हतो [36]द्रोणो ह्यकारणात् ॥४१॥

पुण्यकाले समागच्छेत् पात्रं दद्यात्तदीप्सितम् ।
[37]महाबलिर्ददौ यज्ञे सर्वस्वं पुरुषोत्तमे ॥ ४२ ॥

जिताक्षायार्थिने दद्यात् दृढाय वटवे सुताम् ।
अगस्त्याय [38]दिवेदासो लोपामुद्रामदात्तथा ॥ ४३ ॥

भवेदेकः कार्यकर्ता सहस्रेष्वनुजीविषु ।
सीतामपश्यत् कपिषु [39]हनुमान् सिन्धुपारगः ॥ ४४ ॥

पूज्योऽपि पापकारी चेत् तं त्यजेत्पुण्यकृत्तमः ।
सीतापहारिणं ज्येष्ठं तत्याज हि [40]विभीषणः ॥ ४५ ॥

यस्माद्भीतिर्भवेत्तस्य शिक्षकं त्वाश्रयेद्बुधः ।
अन्तकान्तकमाश्रित्य नित्योऽभूत्स [41]मृकण्डुजः ॥ ४६ ॥

ब्रह्माद्यशक्यं कल्पयेद्ब्राह्मणस्तु स्वतन्त्रतः ।
कीटं कृत्वा द्विजं तस्मै मुक्तिं [42]व्यासोऽददत्पुरा ॥ ४७ ॥

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३५. रामायणे युद्ध° ११४. ४० 'पिता दानवराजो मे भर्ता मे राक्षसेश्वरः ।
पुत्रो मे शक्रनिर्जेता इत्येवं गर्विता भृशम् ॥'

३६. महाभारते द्रोण° १६१, १६२

३७. भागवते ८. १८ २०

३८. महाभारते वन° ९५ लोपामुद्रायाः पितु वैदर्भ इत्येव पुराणेषु प्रसिद्धिः

३९ रामायणे सुन्दर° १५. १६

४०. रामायणे युद्ध° १६

४१. नरसिंहे ७; पद्मे उत्तर २३६; दक्षिणदेशप्रसिद्ध-तिरुक्कडयूर-क्षेत्र-माहात्म्ये MS. no. 10613, 10614 Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore.

४२. महाभारते अनु° १७९-१८१ कीटोपाख्यानम्

पुण्यराजानः (राजाः)—

प्रीत्या विरचितां भूपः स्वप्रतिज्ञां न लङ्घयेत् ।
प्रतिज्ञया [43]पङ्क्तिरथस्तत्याज दयितं सुतम् ॥ ४८ ॥

न कार्या मृगया रात्रौ तत्र दोषो महान् भवेत् ।
रात्रौ मृगयया शापान्मुने[44]र्दशरथो हतः ॥ ४९ ॥

सत्कर्मकृद्यस्य पुत्रस्तस्योच्छ्रायो भवेद्दिवि ।
इन्द्रार्धासनभागासीत् [45]पाण्डुस्तत्पुत्रयागतः ॥ ५० ॥

मानसंरक्षणं कुर्यात् प्राणांस्त्यक्त्वापि भूपतिः ।
ह्रदान्निर्गत्य दुर्वाक्यान्मृतिमाप [46]सुयोधनः ॥ ५१ ॥

दुःखं लब्ध्वापि राज्यश्रीः प्रार्थनीयान्वयानुगा ।
जरां दुःखकरीं धृत्वा राज्यं [47]पूरुरवाप्तवान् ॥ ५२ ॥

प्रमादादपि विप्रस्वं न हरेद्भूपतिः स्वयम् ।
[48]नृगाख्यः कृकलासोऽभूद्राजा विप्रगवीं हरन् ॥ ५३ ॥

नानृतं प्रवदेद्भूपः निरयप्रापकं हि तत् ।
नरकं [49]धर्मजोऽप्यागादश्वत्थामेत्यसत्यतः ॥ ५४ ॥

पुरोधसोऽतिक्रमणं नाचरेत् कीर्तिमान् नृपः ।
गुर्वतिक्रमणात्प्राप्तं चण्डालत्वं[50] त्रिशङ्कुना ॥ ५५ ॥

शृण्वन् स्त्रीवचनं भूपः परिहासास्पदं भवेत् ।
स्त्रीवाक्यान्मरणोद्युक्तः यथा [51]केकयभूपतिः ॥ ५६ ॥

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४३. रामायणे अयोध्या°
४४. रामायणे अयोध्या° ६३, ६४
४५. महाभारते सभा° १२. २८-३२
४६. महाभारते शल्य° ३२. ५९
४७. महाभारते आदि° ७८ ; मत्स्ये ३४
४८. भागवते १. ६४ ; रामायणे उत्तर° ५३
४९. महाभारते स्वर्गा° ३. १७
५०. रामायणे बाल° ५८. ७-१०
५१. रामायणे अयोध्या° ३९. १६—२४

गतेति प्रेष्यतां साध्वीं बलात्कर्तुं न चार्हति ।
सैरन्ध्रीति द्रुपदजां रिरंसुः [52]कीचको हतः ॥ ५७ ॥

ज्येष्ठानुवर्तिनो राजभ्रातरः स्तुतिमाप्नुयुः ।
[53]भीमादयः स्तुतिं प्रापुः द्यूते ज्येष्ठवशंवदाः ॥ ५८ ॥

पितृबन्ध्वसमक्षे तु नोद्वाहं कलयेद्बुधः ।
शकुन्तलां तु [54]दुष्यन्तः त्यक्त्वा देवोक्तितोऽग्रहीत् ॥ ५९ ॥

स्त्रियो भीतिर्यस्य स स्यात्परिहासास्पदं भुवि ।
[55]स्त्रीजितं पश्य भूपालं स्नुषेयमिति वादिनम् ॥ ६० ॥

कृत्वा शास्त्रेषु विश्वासं कर्म कुर्यान्, न हेतुतः ।
[56]भीष्मः पितृकरं त्यक्त्वा भूमौ पिण्डमदाद्यतः ॥ ६१ ॥

जनेन न विधातव्यं महदाज्ञातिलङ्घनम् ।
शिवाज्ञालङ्घनात्प्राप नारीरूपमिलो[57] नृपः ॥ ६२ ॥

विप्रद्रव्यापहरणे न कर्तव्या मतिर्नृपैः ।
[58]कौशिको हतपुत्रश्रीः वसिष्ठपशुकामतः ॥ ६३ ॥

शमो यस्य सुखी स स्यात् दुःखी स्यादतिकामतः ।
[59]रावणस्तपसा राज्यं कामेन निधनं गतः ॥ ६४ ॥

याचेत मनुजोऽभीष्टं महापुरुषमादरात् ।
[60]ध्रुवोऽङ्कं प्रार्थयन् श्रीशात्प्राप सर्वोन्नतं पदम् ॥ ६५ ॥

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५२. महाभारते विराट° १६—२८
५३. महाभारते सभा° ९३, ९४
५४. महाभारते आदि° १००
५५. ज्यामघनामानं । भागवते ९. २३. ३५-३९ ; मत्स्ये ४४. २८-३९ ; वायौ ९५. ३१-३४ ; विष्णौ ४. १२. १३-३४.
५६. हरिवंशे १. १६. १९-२९
५७. मत्स्ये ११. ४५-४८
५८. रामायणे बाल°
५९. रामायणे युद्ध° ११४. १४ इन्द्रियाणि पुरा जित्वा जितं त्रिभुवनं त्वया । स्मरद्भिरिव तद्वैरमिन्द्रियैरेव निर्जितः ॥
६०. विष्णौ १. १२. ८१-९६

अदत्त्वातिथये भोज्यं तपस्वी स्वं न पोषयेत् ।
स्वर्गगोऽपि स्वस्य तनुं भुक्तवान् [६१]श्वेतभूपतिः ॥६६॥
साध्वी तपस्विनी भार्या भर्तुरुज्जीवनौषधिः ।
सावित्र्यास्तु प्रभावेण [६२]सत्यवान् सर्वसौख्यवान् ॥६७॥
स्त्रीमूला कलहोत्पत्तिः सोदराणामपि प्रिये* ।
तिलोत्तमानिमित्तेन मृतिस्सुन्दोपसुन्दयोः[६३] ॥६८॥
नावज्ञां कलयेत्प्राज्ञो निष्ठीवाद्यैर्द्विजोत्तमे ।
निष्ठीवं कुम्भजे कृत्वा [६४]मणिमान् भीमसंहृतः ॥६९॥
इष्टापूर्तानि कलयेत् जगत्ख्यातो वसेद्दिवि ।
अकूपारोक्तवृत्तोऽगादिन्द्रद्युम्नो[६५] दिवं पुनः ॥७०॥

देवाः—

शरण्यः स्यान्महीपालो यस्य कस्यापि चापदि ।
को वा [६६]गजेन्द्रः कंसारेस्तद्रक्षामकरोद्यतः ॥ ७१ ॥
हन्यादवध्यं भूपालो लोकोपद्रवकारिणम् ।
भृगुपत्नीं [६७]चक्रपाणिर्जघानासुररक्षिणीम् ॥ ७२ ॥
दुर्ज्ञेयं महतां चित्तं पृथग्वृत्तं पृथग्वचः ।
कृष्णेन गदिता[६८]गीता [६९]जारत्वं रचितं व्रजे ॥ ७३ ॥
यस्मिन्न रचिता राज्ञा पूजा तन्नाचरेज्जनः ।
[७०]त्यक्तेन्द्रपूजा कृष्णेन युक्तापि न कृता जनैः ॥ ७४ ॥

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६१ रामायणे उत्तर० ७७, ७८
६२. महाभारते वन० २९४-२९९ ; मत्स्ये २०८-२१४
* प्रिये वस्तुनि ; अथवा 'प्रिये' इति लक्ष्म्याः नारायणेन संबोधनम् ।
६३. महाभारते आदि० २३२
६४. महाभारते वन० १६१, १६२
६५ महाभारते वन० २०२
६६ भागवते ८ २—४
६७. देवीभागवते ४. ११
६८. महाभारते भीष्म० २४—४२
६९. भागवते १०. २४
७०, भागवते १०. २४

महापुरुषसौहार्दं कुर्यात्तेन फलं भवेत् ।
कृष्णं सखायं लब्ध्वागात् [७१]कुचेलो महतीं श्रियम् ॥ ७५ ॥
कृत्वापि मायां भूपालः कुर्याच्छत्रुनिबर्हणम् ।
[७२]वामनो याचयन् भूमिं पातालमनयद्बलिम् ॥ ७६ ॥
यं कापट्येन यो हन्यात् कर्ता तेनैव हन्यते ।
[७३]राघवो वालिनं हत्वा कृष्णस्सन् तेन मारितः ॥ ७७ ॥
निर्व्याजान्महता रुष्टस्तं प्रसाद्य महान् भवेत् ।
भृग्वङ्घ्रिताडितो [७४]विष्णुस्तं स्तुवन् सात्त्विकोऽभवत् ॥ ७८ ॥
पुण्यैरेव यशो लभ्यं न हि दानप्रतापतः ।
त्रिपुरारेस्तु या कीर्तिः [७५]षट्पुरारेर्न विद्यते ॥ ७९ ॥
महता महति क्रोधे कृतेऽनर्थः परस्परम् ।
अशपद्विष्णुमुपलं [७६]बृन्दा तां तुलसीं*हरिः ॥ ८० ॥
वस्त्वस्ति तस्मै नादेयं यस्मिन् भूपः प्रसीदति ।
[७७]दधिभाण्डाभिधायादान्मुक्तिं कृष्णस्सुदुर्लभाम् ॥ ८१ ॥
दृढभक्त्यैव देवस्य तुष्टिर्नान्येन कर्मणा ।
अरक्षन्माधवो भक्तं [७८]प्रह्लादाख्यं हिरण्यतः ॥ ८२ ॥

भागवते १०. ८०, ८१
भागवते ८. १८-२३
आनन्दरामायणे सारकाण्डे ८. ६६, ६७ ; हनुमन्नाटके ५. ५७, ५८
भागवते १०. ८९ ८ ; पद्मे उत्तर° २८२
हरिवंशे २ ८२-८५ षट्पुरारिः विष्णुः ।
शिवे २. ५. २५-४१ ; स्कान्दे वैष्णव° २१, २२ ;
ब्रह्मवैवर्ते प्रकृति° २१. २४ ।
तां बृन्दां 'तुलसी भव' इति हरिरशपदित्यन्वयः ।
कथेयं वैष्णवसंप्रदाये दक्षिणभारते द्राविडप्रबन्धेषु प्रसिद्धा, पुराणाकरस्त्वस्या नाद्यावद्युपलब्धः । नवनीतचौर्यावसरे परैरभिज्ञातः श्रीकृष्णः ससंभ्रमं प्रधाव्य दधिभाण्डनाम्नो गोपस्य गृहाभ्यन्तरे निलीनः । 'अयमेवावसरः' इति स गोपः 'यदि न मे मुक्तिं दास्यसि तदा त्वां प्रकटयिष्यामि' इत्युवाच । तस्मिन् प्रसन्नो भगवान् तस्मै सान्वयाय मुक्तिं प्रादात् ।
विष्णौ १. १७-२० ; भागवते ७, ४

गर्भ (दर्भ ?) *स्थितोऽप्यवज्ञां तु महान् न सहते ध्रुवम् ।
कृतावज्ञस्सागरेण [७९]रामो ब्रह्मास्त्रमाददे ॥ ८३ ॥

स्वयं शक्तोऽपि कार्यार्थे परिवारान् समार्जयेत् ।
पुराणि दग्धुं शक्तोऽपि [८०]शम्भुर्देवान् समग्रहीत् ॥ ८४ ॥

ब्रह्महत्या महीपेन न कार्या श्रीविनाशिनी ।
विधिमौलिप्रविच्छेदा[८१]दीश्वरो भिक्षुकोऽभवत् ॥ ८५ ॥

अन्यपूर्वां स्त्रियं साध्वीं कामयेत न गर्वतः ।
साध्वीरिच्छन् [८२]महादेवः षण्डोऽभूद्दारुकावने ॥ ८६ ॥

सद्विद्यामार्जयेत्प्राज्ञः स्वन्यूनादपि यत्नतः ।
सर्वज्ञोऽपि [८३]शिवः पुत्रात् प्रणवार्थं विवेद हि ॥ ८७ ॥

भृत्यमप्यात्मना तुल्यं शिक्षयेदवनीपतिः ।
पञ्चशीर्ष्णो विधेर्मौलिं [८४]पञ्चवक्त्रो जहार यत् ॥ ८८ ॥

वाचाटं शिक्षयेत् स्वस्य गुरुमप्यवनीपतिः ।
निन्दन्तं श्वशुरं दक्षं [८५]वीरभद्रोऽवधीच्छिवः ॥ ८९ ॥

श्रद्धा देवप्रियकरी भक्तानां †नोपदा भवेत् ।
[८६]व्याधोच्छिष्टजलं शम्भोः भक्त्याभूदमृतोपमम् ॥ ९० ॥

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* तपो नियमस्थितोऽपीत्यर्थः ।

७९. रामायणे ६. २१

८०. मत्स्ये १३३

८१. मत्स्ये १८३

८२. स्कान्दे आवन्त्य° रेवा° ३८

८३. दाक्षिणात्यस्कान्दे शङ्करसंहितायां शिवरहस्यखण्डे संभवकाण्डे ३४.२७,२८

८४. शिवे ३. ८. ३८-५५ ; मत्स्ये १८३. ८४-८६

८५. स्कान्दे काशी° ८९

† न उपहृतं वस्तु, किन्तु तद्गता श्रद्धैव प्रियकरीत्यर्थः ।

८६. शिवभक्तविलासे २८. २९ ।
दक्षिणभारते श्रीकालहस्तिक्षेत्रे ६३ शिवभक्तेष्वन्यतमस्य 'कण्णप्पनायनार्' इति प्रख्यातस्य कथात्र श्लोके परामृष्टा ।

असज्जनायाशु वरं न दद्यात्प्रीतितो नृपः ।
वरं [87]भस्मासुरायेशः दत्वा नीलि(दत्वानीति?) फलं गतः ॥९१॥
जामाता श्वशुरावासे स्थितोऽभ्येति पराभवम् ।
तुषाराद्र्यवमानोक्त्या साम्बः काशीं गतः [88]शिवः ॥९२॥
न चिन्तयति कर्तव्याकर्तव्ये काममोहितः ।
[89]प्रजापतिस्सुतां दृष्ट्वा तदासक्तोऽभवत्स्वयम् ॥९३॥
आदाय विप्रस्वमपि नाशयेद्राज्यघातिनः ।
आदायास्थि दधीचेस्तु [90]शक्रो दैत्यान् जघान हि ॥९४॥
स्वगुरुं नावमन्येत कदाचिदपि भूपतिः ।
अवमत्य गुरुं [91]वृत्रभीत्याभूद्भिक्षुको वृषा ॥९५॥
शत्रुं प्रलोभयन् नैच्याद् आर्जयेद्वसुधां नृपः ।
असुरेभ्योऽहरद्भूमिं वृकरूपी [92]शतक्रतुः ॥९६॥
पुत्रो भूत्वा यस्य कस्याप्युर्वीशो राज्यमाप्नुयात् ।
रजिः(जि?)भूपसुतोऽस्मीति [93]शक्रः सिंहासनं गतः ॥९७॥
परिहासो न कर्तव्यो ब्राह्मणेष्ववलेपतः ।
वालखिल्यान् वीक्ष्य हसन् [94]शक्रस्तारकदास्यभाक् ॥९८॥

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८७. भागवते १०. ८८. २३
८८. हरिवंशे १. २९. ३७-४४ ।
श्वमानोक्तिः मेनया श्वश्र्वा स्वपुत्रीद्वारा कृता ।
८९. मत्स्ये ३. ३३, ३४
९० भागवते ६. ९. १०
९१. मातृकासु शक्रः, वक्रः, वक्त्रम् इति पाठान्तराणि दृश्यन्ते ।
इन्द्रस्य गुरोरवमाननं तु बहुत्र दृश्यते । कथाया अन्योंऽशो मृग्यः ।
९२. कृष्णयजुर्वेदतैत्तिरीयसंहितायां ६ २. ४
'असुराणां वा इयमग्र आसीत् यावदासीनः परापश्यति तावद्देवानां ते देवा अब्रुवन्नस्त्वेव नोऽस्यामपीति कियद्वो दास्याम इति यावदियं सलावृकी त्रिः परिक्रामति तावन्नो दत्तेति स इन्द्रः सलावृकीरूपं कृत्वेमां त्रिः सर्वतः पर्यक्रामत्तदिमामविन्दत यदिमामविन्दत तद्वेद्यै वेदित्वम् ।' इति श्रुतिवाक्यमस्य श्लोकस्य मूलं स्यात् ।
९३. वायौ ९२. ८७; हरिवंशे १. २८ 'रजिपुत्रोऽहमित्युक्त्वा' इति वायौ ९२ ८७
९४. महाभारते आदि° ३१ ; स्कान्दे नागर° ७९ शक्रानुभूते परिहासफले तु विसंवादो दृश्यते ।

यत्किञ्चिन्मुनिना दत्तं शिरसा धारयेन्नृपः ।
स्रजं दुर्वाससा दत्तां न्यस्त्वे[95](स्ये?)न्द्रः श्रीविवर्जितः ॥९९॥

आशामुत्पाद्य चाकृष्य वञ्चयेद्रिपुमन्त्रिणम् ।
असुरेभ्यो हृतौ दत्वा [96]शण्डामर्कौ *ग्रहं सुरैः ॥१००॥

अधिकः स्यात्पितुः पुत्रो रूपविद्यापराक्रमैः ।
तिष्ठन् पित्रार्जितपदे [97]सुब्रह्मण्यस्तु तादृशः ॥ १०१ ॥

बुद्धिमान् साधयेत्कार्यमशक्तो बुद्धिकौशलात् ।
भूप्रदक्षिणसाध्यं तु भ्रमन्नीश[98]गणेडगात् ॥ १०२ ॥

न वदेज्जनसंवादे साक्षित्वेन निमन्त्रितः ।
[99]अग्निर्भार्गवशापेन साक्षीत्यु(साक्ष्यमु?) क्त्वा हि सर्वभुक् ॥१०३॥

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९५. पद्मे ३. ८. ३-८ ; ब्रह्मवैवर्ते प्रकृति° ३६ ; भागवते ८. ५. १६

९६. वायौ ९८. ६३-६६ ; मत्स्ये ४७ २२६-२३२

* ग्रहं सोमग्रहं यज्ञे । शण्डामर्कौ यज्ञभागप्ररोचनया सुरैः असुरपक्षादपहृतावित्यर्थः ।

९७. अत्र सामान्येन कुमारस्य अतिशयितः प्रभावः परामृष्टः, न तु यः कोऽपि विशिष्टः तत्कथावृत्तान्तः इति भाति ।

९८ शिवे २. ४. १९ अत्र गणेशकुमारयोर्मध्ये कस्य विवाहः प्रथममिति विवादे 'यः प्रथमं पृथिवीं प्रदक्षिणीकुरुते, तस्य प्रथमं विवाहः' इति शिवपार्वतीभ्यामुक्ते, कुमारः साक्षाद्भूप्रदक्षिणाय गतः, गणेशस्तु तथा कर्तुमशक्तः भूप्रदक्षिणप्रतिनिधितया स्वपितरावेव विधिवत् पूजयित्वा परिक्रम्य स्वविवाहं प्रार्थयामासेति कथा ।

दक्षिणभारते तु सुविदितं कथान्तरमपि परामृशेदयं श्लोकः । कदाचित् कैलासे शिवः फलमेकं प्रदर्श्य 'युवयोः प्रथमतया यः भूप्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा प्रत्यावर्तते तस्येदं फलं दास्यते' इति स्वपुत्रौ गणेशकुमारावभिदधे । मयूरमारूह्य त्वरिततरं कुमारः भुवं प्रदक्षिणीकर्तुं जगाम । शरीरगौरवेण तथा गन्तुमपारयन् मेधावी गणेशः 'प्रपञ्चरूपी भगवान् शिवः' इति कृत्वा तं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य फलमर्थयामास, लेभे च । दक्षिणमधुरानिकटवर्तिनि 'पलनि' नामके प्रख्याते कुमारक्षेत्रे कथाया अस्याः प्रचारो वर्तते । 'पल-नी' (फलं त्वं) इति क्षेत्रस्य नाम्नापि कथाया अस्या घटना कृता ।

९९. महाभारते आदि° ६ १४ ; शल्य° ४८. १७ ; स्कान्दे सह्याद्रिखण्डे रेणुकामाहात्म्ये अ० ५

नृपस्यासमये भृत्यस्समीपं तस्य नो विशेत् ।
काले नैधुवने शम्भोर्गत्वाभूद्वीर्यभुक्[100] शिखी ॥ १०४ ॥

कार्यासमर्थे महति न कुर्यात् परिहासकम् ।
लम्बोदरं नत्यशक्तमप्रेक्ष्योऽभूच्छशी[101] हसन् ॥ १०५ ॥

राजाहमिति नैवेच्छेत् परकान्तां कलिर्भवेत् ।
[102]तारकामयसङ्ग्रामः चन्द्रस्तारां यदाग्रहीत् ॥ १०६ ॥

परिणीतासु सर्वासु समबुद्धिर्भवेन्नृपः ।
तारासु रोहिणीसक्तो यक्ष्माणमभजत्[103] शशी ॥ १०७ ॥

दुष्टायाभीष्टकार्यं तु न दद्यात्तेन तोषितः ।
भण्डाय दत्वा सार्वात्म्यं प्रविवेशानले[104] शिवः ॥ १०८ ॥*

लक्षात्मजेभ्योऽपि वरः महान् वंशकरस्सुतः ।
त्यक्त्वाऽयुतसुतान् वव्रे [105]लोपामुद्रेध्मवाहकम् ॥ १०९ ॥

पृष्टे धर्मे पक्षपातं विना शास्त्रार्थमीरयेत् ।
फलहारिणि[106] शङ्खे (शङ्खः?) तु लिखितो (ते?) दण्डमुक्तवान् ।११०।

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१००. शिवे २.४.२ ; मत्स्ये १५८. २ ; विष्णुधर्मो° २२८

१०१. व्रतचूडामणौ पृ० ७४; तत्र निर्दिष्ट आकरः 'स्कान्दे नन्दिकेश्वर-सनत्कुमारसंवादे स्यमन्तकोपाख्यानम्' इति । गणेशपुराणे (पूर्व° ६१) अंशेन भिन्नतया दृश्यते इयं कथा ।

१०२. भागवते ९. १४. ४-७ ; हरिवंशे १. २५. ३०-३५ ; ब्राह्मे ९. १९-२३; देवीभागवते १. ११. ४-७२; वायौ ९०. २८-३३

१०३. महाभारते शल्य° ९. ३६ स्कान्दे प्रभास° २१. ५८ ; आवन्त्य° रेवा° ८५ ब्रह्मवैवर्ते ब्रह्म° ९. ५५ { दक्षः प्रकुपितश्चन्द्रमशपत् मन्त्रपूर्वकम् । द्रुतं श्वसुरशापेन यक्ष्मग्रस्तो बभूव सः ॥ }

१०४. मृग्या कथा

* १०८ श्लोकानन्तरं १०९ श्लोकत्वेन 'शरण्यः स्यात्' इत्ययं ७१ संख्याकः श्लोकः G. O. MSS Library, Adyar Library, Madras–कोशेषु पुनरुक्ततया लिखितः ।

१०५. महाभारते वन° ९७. २७-३३

१०६. महाभारते शान्ति° २३. १८—५० लिखितोऽपराधी, शङ्खो दण्डदः इति कथा ।

मुनिर्यद्वचनादृष्टः (नादृष्टः?) निहन्यात्तं सबान्धवम् ।
[107]दुर्वाससा साम्बकृत्यात् क्रुद्धेनाभूत कुलक्षयः ॥ १११ ॥
न कर्तव्यो महीपालैर्यतिरप्यवरोधभाक् ।
सुभद्रामहरत् कामात् शुद्धान्तस्थः[108]पृथासुतः ॥ ११२ ॥
अयोग्यवस्तुभरणात् भजेद्योग्योऽपि दुष्टताम् ।
रक्षणायेन्द्रदत्तासिं वहन् व्याधोऽ[109]भवन्मुनिः ॥ ११३ ॥
अन्नं दद्यादतिथये श्रद्धया स्वर्गदं हि तत ।
सकुटुम्बो दिशन्नन्नं [110]सक्तुप्रस्थो दिवंगतः ॥ ११४ ॥
विप्रकोपं न जनयेत् तस्य कोपस्तु दुस्सहः ।
लोकासह्य[111]श्चौर्वकोपः समुद्रं शोषयत्यहो ॥ ११५ ॥
बहूपकृतिको विप्रः किञ्चिद्दोषेण कुप्यति ।
*[112]कदन्नरुष्टोदङ्के(?)ऽन्धः पौष्योऽभूत्कुण्डले दिशन् ॥ ११६॥
विहाय पित्रोश्शुश्रूषां न तपः कलयेत्सुतः ।
[113]मुनिराप पुनस्तातं धर्मव्याधचरित्रतः ॥ ११७ ॥
गुरुकार्ये प्रवृत्तस्य सिद्धिर्दैवप्रसादतः ।
[114]उदङ्कश्शक्रसाहाय्यात् तक्षकादाप कुण्डलम् ॥ ११८ ॥
गुरोस्सामान्यवचनादयुक्तं नाचरेद्बुधः ।
[115]उदङ्को नाकरोदुक्त्या गुरोस्तद्वनितारतिम् ॥ ११९ ॥

१०७. महाभारते मौसल° २ ; भागवते ११. १
१०८. महाभारते आदि° २४१ ; भागवते १०. ८६
१०९ रामायणे आरण्य° ९. १६.२२
११०. महाभारते आश्व° ९२
१११. महाभारते आदि° १९६
* मातृकासूपलभ्यमानपाठान्तराणि, यथा—कदन्नरुद्धतं कां यः, कदन्नरुद्धजं कांधः, कदन्नरुद्धदं कांडः, कदम्बरुदुदं काण्डः ।
११२. महाभारते आदि° ३.९६-१२५ कुण्डलदानरूपबहूपकारकारिण्यपि पौष्ये तेन श्राद्धे निमन्त्रितः तद्दत्तं सकेशं शीतमन्नं दृष्ट्वा रुष्टः उदङ्कः अन्धो भवेति तं पौष्यं शशाप इति कथात्र अनुसन्धेया ।
११३. महाभारते वन° २१८, २१९
११४. महाभारते आदि° ३. १२६-१५४
११५. महाभारते आदि° ३. ८३-८८

नास्त्रशस्त्रैर्भटैर्विप्रो बलवान् उक्तितो बली ।
[116]अगस्त्यवाक्यमाहात्म्यं जानीतो विन्ध्यसागरौ ॥ १२० ॥

न कार्या प्राणिनां हिंसा कुर्याच्चेत्तत्फलं व्रजेत् ।
[117]माण्डव्यः कीटहननात् शूलप्रोतोऽभवन्मुनिः ॥१२१॥

येन तुष्टो महांस्तस्मै दिशेत्तद्दुर्लभां श्रियम् ।
शर्यातियज्ञे [118]च्यवनः कृतवान् भागमश्विनोः ॥१२२॥

दुष्करं कल्पयेद्विप्रः तदेव जगतां मतम् ।
यावत्पुत्रवती त्रिभ्यः [119]गालवोऽदाद्धि माधवीम् ॥१२३॥

यो भुङ्क्ते प्राणरक्षार्थं दुष्टान्नं स न दुष्यति ।
कुलुत्थं भुक्तवान् दुष्ट[120]मुपस्तिः प्राणसङ्कटे ॥१२४॥

पालयेद्द्रोहिणं मित्रं द्रोहो दैवादभूदिति ।
कृतापकारिणं [121]नालीजङ्घोऽरक्षयथा द्विजम् ॥१२५॥

महान्तमनुसृत्यैव स्थितश्चेत् सुखमेष्यति ।
कृष्णाश्रयात् सुतां (तं?) दत्वा विप्राय न मृतोऽर्जुनः[122] ॥१२६॥

देवकल्पितवृत्त्यैव स्थातव्यो (व्यं?) नान्यदाचरेत् ।
कृषिकार्योद्यतं मङ्किद्विजं पश्य मुधोद्यमम् ॥१२७॥

प्रलोभ्य सन्तं तद्वित्तं हरन्नवमतिं भजेत् ।
कुबेरधनहृत् शम्भोः [124]कविश्शुक्रत्वमेयिवान् ॥१२८॥

पातिव्रत्यं स्त्रियो न स्यात् पश्येच्चेत् कामतः परम् ।
पातिव्रत्यच्युतिमगाद्गन्धर्वं वीक्ष्य [125]रेणुका ॥१२९॥

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११६. महाभारते वन० १०२—१०४ ; विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे० १. २११
११७. महाभारते आदि० ११६, ११७ ; पद्मे सृष्टि० ४८ ; मार्कण्डेये १६ ; स्कान्दे आवन्त्य० रेवा० १७०-१७२
११८. महाभारते वन० १२४
११९. महाभारते आदि० ५२ ; उद्योग० ११६-१२० प्रथमभर्त्रा पुत्रोत्पादनानन्तरं पर्यायेण त्रिभ्यो गालवेन दत्ता ; एवमाहत्य हर्यश्व-दिवोदास-उशीनर-विश्वामित्राः तस्याश्चत्वारो भर्तारः ।
१२०. छान्दोग्ये १. १० १
१२१ महाभारते शान्ति० १६८ १७२
१२२. भागवते १० ८९
१२३. महाभारते शान्ति० १७६, मङ्किगीता
१२४. महाभारते शान्ति० २९५. ७ ३२
१२५. महाभारते वन० ११७

अभिशप्तः पुण्यकार्ये प्रवृत्तोऽपि न सिद्धिभाक् ।
भर्त्रानुगमनोद्युक्ता [१२६]रेणुका जनमारिका ॥१३०॥
यद्वाक्यमवदत्साध्वी तदलङ्घ्यं सुरासुरैः ।
[१२७]अनसूयाकरोदेकरात्रिं बहुलवत्सरान् ॥ १३१ ॥
उत्पन्नपुत्रमात्रस्य पुंसस्स्वर्गो भवेद्ध्रुवम् ।
टिट्टिभोत्पादनादेव [१२८]मन्दपालो दिवं ययौ ॥ १३२ ॥
सुपुत्रः कलयेन्मातुः दुःखमोचनमञ्जसा ।
विनतां [१२९]गरुडः कद्र्वाः दासीभावादमोचयत् ॥ १३३ ॥
भक्तेः परं ज्ञानमेव मुक्तिसाधनमुच्यते ।
[१३०]ज्ञानेनाग्निरभूच्छम्यां न भक्त्या ब्रह्मसंसदि ॥ १३४ ॥
ज्ञानं चिरात्, नाम सद्यो मुक्तिदं कीर्तयेदतः ।
[१३१]अजामिलो ज्ञानहीनो मुक्तो नारायणोक्तितः ॥ १३५ ॥
पुण्यक्षेत्रनिवासाप्तिः यदि स्यान्न त्यजेत्पुनः ।
काशीं लब्ध्वा महत्क्षेत्रमविमुक्तोऽभव[१३२]च्छिवः ॥ १३६ ॥

(इति श्रीवेङ्कटरायविरचिते पुराणार्थसंग्रहे
लक्ष्मीनारायणसंवादे
एकादशोऽध्यायः ॥)

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१२६. जमदग्नेर्देहदाहसमये तस्य पत्नी रेणुका अनुमरणाय तामेव चितां प्रविवेश । तदा इन्द्रः वृष्टिमुत्पाद्य तां मरणान्निवारयामास । किञ्चिद्दग्धे तस्याश्शरीरे जलसेचनेन बुद्बुदाः संजाताः । तस्मिन् समये ईश्वरः तां रेणुकां ग्रामदेवतात्वे नियुज्य मसूरिकारोगस्य उत्पादकत्वे नाशकत्वे च शक्तिमतीमधिदेवतामकरोत् । तदारभ्यैव सा जनमारिका बभूव इति इयं कथा द्रविडदेशे प्रसिद्धा । 'पडवेडु' नाम्ना प्रसिद्धे वेलूर्-समीपस्थे रेणुकाक्षेत्रेऽपि इयं कथा श्रूयते । मूलपुराणे "स्कान्दे सह्याद्रिखण्डे रेणुकामाहात्म्ये" रेणुकायाः अनुगमनपर्यन्तो भाग एवोपलभ्यते ।

१२७ रामायणे अयोध्या° ११७ १२

१२८ महाभारते आदि° २५५

१२९. महाभारते आदि° २०-३४

१३०. मृग्या कथा

१३१. भागवते ६. १

१३२. मत्स्ये १८०, १८५

ACTIVITIES OF THE KASHIRAJ TRUST

(Jan.-June, 1965)

CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS.

(a) *Matsya-Purāṇa* :

The work of its critical edition is being done at Madras as usual and is progressing. Edition of the additional chapters in the Grantha version of the Matsya-Purāṇa at Trivendrum has been continued, and one chapter has been edited.

The critical edition of the further portion of the Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa, in close relation to the corresponding portions of the main Matsya-Purāṇa, was continued.

Dr. Raghavan was on a tour in U. S., Japan and South East Asia and he took the opportunity to acquaint Sanskrit Scholars abroad of the Purāṇa work of the All-Indian Kashiraj Trust.

(b) *Vāmana-Purāṇa* :

Eighteen manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa have been collated so far–12 Devanāgarī Mss., 1 Śāradā Ms., 1 Kashmiri Ms., 3 Bengali Mss, and 1 Telugu Ms. Of the 12 Devanāgarī Mss. 2 Mss. (Ms. E. 3585 of the India Office Library, London, and the microfilm of Ms. Wilson 127 a, Aufrecht 102, from the Bodleian Library Oxford) have been partially (*Bhuvana-kośa* adhyāyas only) collated. The microfilm of a manuscript (Folios 131, pages 262) has also been procured from the Sanskrit college, Calcutta. It is being examined for the purpose of collation. Efforts are being made to procure some more mss. of the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

Twenty four Adhyāyas (1-20, 37-40) of the Vāmana-Purāṇa have been tentatively reconstructed. The four Adhyāyas (37 to 40) agree with the four Adhyāyas (37ff) of the Śalya Parvan of the Mbh. (Cri. Edn.). Hence they have also been reconstructed. The critical apparatus of the first ten Adhyāyas has also been prepared.

काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जनवरी १९६५—जून १९६५)

पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

(अ) मत्स्यपुराणकार्यम्—

अस्य पुराणस्य सम्पादनकार्यं मद्रासनगरे यथापूर्वं प्रचलति। कार्यं प्रगतिवर्तते। इदानीं ट्रिवेन्द्रम्नगरे ग्रन्थलिप्यामुपलब्धस्य मत्स्यपुराणपुस्तकस्य अतिरिक्तानामध्यायानां सम्पादनकार्यं क्रियते, एकोऽध्यायः सम्पादितश्च।

स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य अन्येषामध्यायानां, मत्स्यपुराणस्य समानाध्यायानां परिशीलनेन, सम्पादनकार्यं प्रचलदस्ति।

डा० वे० राघवन् महोदयाः अमेरिका-जापान-दक्षिणपूर्वएशियादेशेषु यदा परिभ्रमणमकुर्वन् तदा तत्रस्थसंस्कृतविदुषां सविधे काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणसम्पादनकार्यं ज्ञापितवन्तः।

(आ) वामनपुराणकार्यम्—

अद्यावधि वामनपुराणस्य अष्टादशहस्तलिखितमातृकापुस्तकानि सम्पादितानि; यथा—देवनागरीलिपिपुस्तकानि १२, शारदापुस्तकम् १, काश्मीरपुस्तकम् १, बंगलिपिपुस्तकानि ३, तेलुगुलिपिपुस्तकम् १। द्वादशदेवनागरीपुस्तकानां मध्ये द्वौ मातृकाकोशौ (इण्डियाआफिस पुस्तकालयस्य E. 3585 संख्याकं पुस्तकम्, बोडलियन पुस्तकालयस्य च विल्सन 127a संख्याकं पुस्तकं) अंशरूपेण (भुवनकोशाध्यायांशात्मकौ एव) सम्पादितौ। कालिकातानगरस्य संस्कृतकालेजसंस्थायाः एकं मातृकापुस्तकमपि प्राप्तम्। पाठसंवादनाय चेदं पुस्तकं परीक्ष्यते। वामनपुराणस्य केषाञ्चिदन्येषामपि हस्तलिखितपुस्तकानां प्राप्तये प्रयत्नः क्रियते।

वामनपुराणस्य आद्यानां २० अध्यायानां तथा चतुर्णाम् (३७-४०) अध्यायानाम् अस्थायिरूपेण पाठनिर्धारणमपि कृतम्। आद्यानां १० अध्यायानां पाठभेदा अपि लिखिताः।

OTHER WORKS ON THE PURĀṆAS

(a) At Madras centre the *Rājanīti* Section (Ch. XI) of the Purāṇārthasaṅgraha has been critically edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, as has already been mentioned in the previous report, on the basis of 6 manuscripts (three from Mysore and three from Madras). The Section contains a number of Purāṇic stories scattered in different Purāṇas and the two Itihāsas. These stories have been identified. This section is being published in this issue of the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin.

(b) *Pāda-Index*: During this period the Pāda-index of the Vāmana-Purāṇa has been re-arranged, and the Pāda-index of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa has been completely written and also alphabetically arranged. The Pāda-index of the Kūrma-Purāṇa has also been alphabetically arranged. The Pāda-indexes of the Liṅga and the Garuḍa-Purāṇas are now being completed.

(c) *Collection of the Purāṇa-quotations*: All the Purāṇa-quotations have separately been collected Purāṇa-wise from the Dāna-kāṇḍa and the Vrata-kāṇḍa of the Kṛtya-Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara Miśra during this period. The quotations from the Dānasāgara of Ballālasena and from the Parāśara-Madhava had already been collected previously.

(d) *Writing of the Ādhāra Pāṭha*: The Ādhāra-pāṭha of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa and of the Agni-Purāṇa has been written from their vulgate editions for the purpose of collation.

(e) *Procurement of Manuscripts*: Microfilms, in 14 reels, of the MSS. of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas have been procured from the India Office Library for which we are thankful to the authorities of the Library.

(f) *The birch-leaf Śāradā Ms. of the Gottingen University*: A few months back, the authorities of the Indologisches Seminar of the Gottingen University (Germany) sent us the photo copy of the 4 pages of an old birch-leaf Śāradā manuscript of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa for our opinion for a restoration of this Ms. These four pages were examined here. The Ms. seemed to be valuable.

पुराणसम्बन्धीनि अन्यकार्याणि

(अ) यथा पूर्वविवरणे सूचितं, मद्रासनगरे डा० वे० राघवन्महोदयैः 'पुराणार्थसंग्रह' ग्रन्थस्य राजनीतिभागस्य एकादशाध्यायात्मकस्य षण्णां (त्रयः मैसूरतः, त्रयः मद्रासतश्च प्राप्तानां) हस्तलेखानाम् आधारेण पाठसमीक्षात्मकं सम्पादनं कृतम् । अस्मिन् राजनीतिभागे विभिन्नपुराणानाम् उभयोः इतिहासग्रन्थयोश्च कथा निर्दिष्टाः । आसां कथानां स्थाननिर्देशोऽपि कृतो वर्तते । अयं भागः पुराणपत्रिकायाः अस्मिन्नेवाङ्के प्रकाश्यते ।

(आ) पादसूची—

अस्मिन् समये वामनपुराणस्य पादसूची अकारादिक्रमेण पुनः संग्रथिता । विष्णुपुराणस्य पादसूची पूर्णतः लिखिता । अक्षरक्रमेण संग्रथिता च । कूर्मपुराणस्य पादसूच्या अपि अक्षरक्रमेण संग्रथनं कृतम् । लिङ्गगरुडपुराणयोः पादसूची समाप्तप्राया वर्तते ।

(इ) पुराणोद्धारणानां संग्रहः—

अस्मिन् काले लक्ष्मीधरमिश्रनिर्मितस्य कृत्यकल्पतरुनामकग्रन्थस्य दानकाण्डस्य व्रतकाण्डस्य च सर्वाणि पुराणोद्धरणानि पृथक्-पृथक् पुराणक्रमेण संगृहीतानि । दानसागरपराशरमाधवयोश्च पुराणोद्धरणानानि पूर्वमेव संकलितान्यासन् ।

(ई) आधारपाठस्य लेखनकार्यम्—

पाठसंवादनाय अग्निविष्णुपुराणयोः आधारपाठः प्रचलितसंस्करणाधारेण लिखितः ।

(उ) हस्तलेखानां संग्रहः

इण्डिया-आफिस-लाइब्रेरीतः अष्टादशमहापुराणानां हस्तलेखानां माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतयः प्राप्ता आसन् । एतन्निमित्तं वयम् अस्य पुस्तकालयस्य अधिकारिभ्यः कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयामः ।

(ऊ) गोटिङ्गन-विश्वविद्यालयस्य भूर्जपत्रीयः शारदाहस्तलेखः—

किञ्चित्समयपूर्वं गोटिङ्गन-विश्वविद्यालयस्य(जर्मनी) इण्डोलाजिश्चे सेमिनार इत्यस्याधिकारिणः श्रीमद्भागवतमहापुराणस्य भूर्जपत्रोपरि लिखितस्य एकस्य प्राचीनहस्तलेखस्य चतुर्णां पत्राणां 'फोटो' प्रती अत्र प्रेषितवन्तः । ते अस्याः

Its leetters resembled with those of the birch leaf Śāradā codex of the Ādi-Parvan of the Mbh., a fascimile of folio 147 b of which is given as the frontispiece of the Ādi-Parvan of the critical edition, Poona. The appearance of this Bhāg.-Ms., however looks even older than the Ādi-Parvan Śāradā Ms. Moreover, it has glosses in between the lines. The opinion asked for was sent to the Gottingen University Library, and it was duly acknoledged by its authorities. The university is now testing the technical possibilities of its restoration. It is hoped that this important manuscript will soon be restored.

SUBJECT CONCORDANCE OF THE PURĀṆAS

As has already been mentioned in the previous reviews, an exhaustive subject-concordance of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas has been planned here. As preliminary to this, a separate subject-index of each Purāṇa is being prepared first. Subject indexes of the six Purāṇas—Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya Liṅga and Viṣṇu have been completed. The subject indexes of the two Purāṇas—Vāmana and Kūrma—were published in the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin, Vol. III for soliciting the opinions of the scholars. Now the Subject-Index of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is being revised for the purpose of its publication in the next issue of the Purāṇa.

'PURĀṆA' BULLETIN

With this issue the 'Purāṇa' completes its seventh year. These first seven volumes contain about 2800 pages and 200 articles on the important topics of almost every Mahāpurāṇa and also some of the Upapurāṇas, such as the Viṣṇudharmottara, Harivaṁśa, Śiva and Devī. The English Summaries of the Sanskrit articles published in the 'Purāṇa' are being extended and made longer, as requested by some of the scholars.

'VEDA-PĀRĀYAṆA'

During the whole bright half of the month of Māgha (Feb, 2-15) the *pārāyaṇa* from memory of the whole Samveda Saṁhitā together with its eight Brāhmaṇas and the Chāndogya Upaniṣad

प्रतेः संरक्षणाय अस्मत्सम्मतिं कांक्षितवन्तः । इमानि चत्वारि पत्राणि अत्र परीक्षितानि । तानि उपयोगीनि प्रतीयन्ते । तेषाम् अक्षराणि महाभारतस्य पूना 'क्रिटिकल एडीशन' इत्यस्य आदिपर्वणः आरम्भे उद्धृतस्य शारदालेखपत्रस्य अक्षरैः सह साम्यमारोहन्ति । अस्य भागवतहस्तलेखस्य स्वरूपं तु आदिपर्वणः हस्तलेखापेक्षयाऽपि प्राचीनतरं दृश्यते । अथ च अस्मिन् हस्तलेखे पङ्क्तीनां मध्ये टिप्पण्योऽपि सन्ति । अभीष्टा सम्मतिः गोटिङ्गनविश्वविद्यालये प्रेषिता, तस्य अधिकारिभिः प्राप्तिस्वीकृतिश्चापि अत्र प्रेषिता । सम्प्रति स विश्वविद्यालयः अस्य लेखस्य संरक्षणोपायं चिन्तयति । आशामहे एष महार्घः लेखः सुरक्षितो भविष्यति ।

पुराणानां विषयानुक्रमणी

पूर्वविवरणेषु सूचितं यत् महापुराणानां विस्तृतविषयानुक्रमणीनिर्माणस्य योजनाऽत्र प्रचलति । तदनुसारं प्रथमं प्रत्येकपुराणस्य पृथक्-पृथक् विषयानुक्रमणी निर्मीयते । षण्णां पुराणानां—वामनकूर्ममत्स्यमार्कण्डेय-लिङ्गविष्णुपुराणानां—विषयानुक्रमणी पूर्णा वर्तते । द्वयोः पुराणयोः—वामनकूर्मयोः—विषयानुक्रमणी पुराणपत्रिकायास्तृतीये भागे प्रकाशिता आसीत् । तस्याः प्रकाशनं विदुषां सम्मतये कृतम् । सम्प्रति विष्णुपुराणस्य विषयानुक्रमणी 'पुराण' पत्रिकाया आगामिनि अङ्के प्रकाशनाय संशोध्यते ।

'पुराण' पत्रिका

अनेनाङ्केन 'पुराण' पत्रिका सप्तमं वर्षं समापयति । अस्याः सप्तसु भागेषु प्रायेण २८०० पृष्ठानि, २०० निबन्धाश्च सन्ति । इमे निबन्धा प्रायेण समस्तानि महापुराणानि विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-हरिवंश-शिव-देवी-इत्यादीनि कानि-चिदुपपुराणानि च आधारीकृत्य वर्तन्ते । केषाञ्चित् विदुषां प्रार्थनानुसारेण संस्कृतनिबन्धानां आंग्लभाषायां सारो विस्तृततरः प्रदास्यते ।

वेदपारायणम्

गतमाघमासीये सम्पूर्णे शुक्लपक्षे (फरवरी २-१५) रामनगरदुर्गस्य व्यासमन्दिरस्य प्राङ्गणे अष्टब्राह्मणग्रंथैः, छान्दोग्योपनिषदा च सहितं सम्पूर्णसामवेद-संहितायाः कण्ठस्थं पारायणं दक्षिणभारतस्थतञ्जोरजिलानिवासिना वैदिक-

was done in the Vyāsa temple of the Ramnagar Fort by Vaidika Pravara Pt. P. Krishnamurti Śrautī of the Tanjore district of South India. Pt. Krishnamurti was given a monthly stipend Rs. 150/- for twenty months by Mahārāja Kāshirāja Dharmakārya Nidhi for memorising the eight Samaveda Brāhmaṇas and the Chāndogya Upaniṣada. Now he is one of the very few Vaidika reciters who can recite from memory the whole of the Sāmaveda with all its *'Gānas'* and its Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣad. At the end of the successful conclusion of the Pārayaṇa he was awarded a certificate of merit and a gold *Kaṅkaṇa* by His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh.

Purāṇa Pāṭha and Pravacana :

In the month of Māgha the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa was recited and the discourses on it were given by Pt. Vishvanath Shastri Datar of the Sāṅga Veda Vidyalaya of Varanasi from Feb. 2 to 10. In the month of Fālguna again from Feb. 19 to March 1 the Agni-Purāṇa was recited and the discourses on it were given by Pt. Badrinath Shukla, Professor of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University. In the month of Caitra, during the Navarātras, the Satyopākhyana was recited and discourses on it were given by Pt. Ramalaksmanacharya of Varanasi.

Vaidika Goṣṭhī

On the conclusion of the Sāmaveda Pārāyaṇa a Vaidika Goṣṭhī was organised on Feb. 15, 1965 by the Kashiraj Trust in the premises of the Vyāsa temple of the Ramnagar Fort. Prominent local scholars and Pandits of the Sāmaveda school participated. Speeches were delivered on the Sāmaveda and its various *gānas* were sung as a demonstration. The Principal speakers were Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Principal Sāṅgaveda Vidyālaya, Varanasi, Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, Research Director of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University, Pt. Ramnath Dikshit, Head of the Veda-Depatmenf of the B. H. U. Sanskrit College, and Shri C. R. Swaminathan of the Education Ministry of Govt. of India. A brochure both in Hindi and English was prepared by Shri A. S. Gupta on the Sāmaveda and its various *gānas* and Brāhmaṇas,

प्रवरेण पं. पी० कृष्णमूर्तिश्रौतिना महोदयेन कृतम् । सामवेदस्य अष्ट ब्राह्मणग्रन्थान् छान्दोग्योपनिषदं च कण्ठस्थीकर्तुं पं. कृष्णमूर्तये 'महाराजकाशि-राजधर्मनिधि' संस्थया विंशतिमासपर्यन्तं १५० रूप्यकाणां मासिकवृत्तिर्दत्ता । सम्प्रति पं. कृष्णमूर्तिः तेषु अत्यल्पसंख्यकेषु विद्वत्सु अन्यतमो वर्तते ये सामवेदस्य तस्य ब्राह्मणैः उपनिषदा च सह पुस्तकं विनैव स्मृत्या पारायणं कर्त्तुं शक्नुवन्ति । पारायणसमाप्तौ तत्रभवता महाराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहैः यथानियमं प्रशंसापत्रं स्वर्णकङ्कणञ्च तस्मै प्रदत्तम् ।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

माघमासे ब्रह्माण्डपुराणस्य पारायणमभूत् । तद्विषये साङ्गवेदविद्यालयाध्याप-केन पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्रिदातारमहोदयेन फरवरी २-१० यावत् प्रवचनं कृतम् । फाल्गुनमासे अग्निपुराणस्य पारायणमभूत् । '१९ फरवरी–१ मार्च' इति कालं यावत् वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयाध्यापकेन पं० बदरीनाथशुक्लमहोदयेन एतद्विषयकं प्रवचनं कृतम् । चैत्रमासीये नवरात्रे सत्योपाख्यानस्य पारायणमभूत् । वाराणसी-नगरस्य पं० रामलक्ष्मणाचार्येण तद्विषयकं प्रवचनं कृतम् ।

वैदिकगोष्ठी

सामवेदपारायणस्य समाप्त्यवसरे १५ फरवरी-दिनाङ्के रामनगरदुर्गस्य व्यासमन्दिरप्राङ्गणे एका वैदिकगोष्ठी आयोजिताऽऽसीत् यस्यां स्थानीया प्रमुखा विद्वांसः सामवेदीया पण्डिताश्च उपस्थिता आसन् । तत्र विद्वद्भिः सामवेदविषयकाणि प्रवचनानि कृतानि, तथा प्रदर्शनरूपेण सामवेदीयगानानां गानमपि कृतम् । पं० राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्रविडः, (वाराणसी-साङ्गवेदविद्यालयस्य प्राचार्यः) प्रो० क्षेत्रेशचन्द्र चट्टोपाध्यायः (वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य शोधनिदेशकः), पं० रामनाथ दीक्षितः (हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापकः), श्री सी० आर० स्वामीनाथन् (शिक्षा-मंत्रालये भारतसरकारस्य)—इत्येते प्रमुखवक्तार आसन् । सामवेदविषयकः एको निबन्धः श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तमहोदयेन हिन्दी-इंग्लिशभाषयोः प्रस्तुतः । अस्य

and cyclostyled copies of it were distributed to the scholars present in the *Gosthī*. Copies of this brochure were also sent to some English and Hindi Papers for publication.

Gauhati Session of A. I. O. C.

The 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Gauhati (Assam) held in January last, passed unanimously a resolution appreciating the Purāṇa-work and its project which is being carried out by the All-India Kashiraj Trust. The General President of the Session, Dr. V. S. Agrawala, also made an appreciating reference to the Purāṇa-work of the Kashiraj Trust in his presidential speech, Shri A. S. Gupta attended the conference as the delegate of the Trust, and read his paper on the 'River-Goddess Sarasvatī' in the classical section. The paper was appreciated by scholars, specially by the Sectional President, and also by the Head of the Sanskrit Department of the Patna University.

Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā

The Ramaratna Kunvari Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā of His Highness the Kashinaresh is being looked after by the Kashiraj Trust. It coaches students for the Sanskrit examinations of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University. A stipend of Rs. 15/- per month is given to every student. The teacher and the students are also provided work in the Purāṇa-Department of the Trust.

Distinguished Visitors

Shri R. R. Diwakar, Ex-Governor of Bihar visited His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. He was presented a copy of the latest issue of the Purāṇa.

Dr. Sampurnanand, Governor of Rajasthan, and Maharaja Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh who had both come to attend the Meeting of the Kashiraj Trust as its trustees were the guests of His Highness. They were presented the copies of the Purāṇa Bulletin. They also discussed with His Highness various aspects of the Purāṇa work of the Trust.

Pt. Giridhari Lal Mehta attended his first Meeting of the Trust as its Trustee.

निबन्धस्य 'साइक्लोस्टाइल्ड' प्रतयः विद्वद्भ्यः प्रदत्ताः। अस्य निबन्धस्य प्रतिलिपयः समाचारपत्रेषु प्रकाशनार्थमपि प्रेषिता आसन्।

गौहाटीनगरे अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनम्

'अखिलभारतीय प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनम्' इत्यस्य २२तमं सम्मेलनं गतजनवरी-मासे गौहाटीनगरे अभूत। अनेन सम्मेलनेन सर्वसम्मतया काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराण-कार्ययोजनाविषये प्रशंसापरं प्रस्तावं पारितम्। सम्मेलनाध्यक्षेण डा० वासुदेवशरण-अग्रवालमहोदयेनापि स्वीये अध्यक्षीये भाषणे काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणकार्यस्य प्रशंसात्मको निर्देशः कृतः। काशिराजन्यासस्य प्रतिनिधिरूपेण तत्र गतः श्री आनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तमहोदयः सम्मेलने सरस्वतीविषयकं स्वनिबन्धं पठितवान्। एष निबन्धः विद्वद्भिः--विशेषतः 'क्लासिकल' विभागाध्यक्षेण तथा पटनाविश्व-विद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षेण--प्रशंसितः।

संस्कृतपाठशाला

तत्रभवतः काशिनरेशस्य 'महारानी रत्नकुवँरि संस्कृत पाठशालायाः निरीक्षणमपि काशिराजन्यासेन क्रियते। एषा पाठशाला वाराणसेयसंस्कृत-विश्वविद्यालयस्य परीक्षाभ्यः छात्रान् शिक्षयति। प्रतिछात्रेभ्यः पञ्चदशरूप्यकाणां मासिकछात्रवृत्तिः प्रदीयते। न्यासस्य पुराणविभागे अस्याः पाठशालायाः शिक्षकाय छात्रेभ्यश्च कार्यं प्रदीयते।

विशिष्टा अतिथयः

भूतपूर्वो बिहारराज्यपालमहोदयः श्री आर. आर. दिवाकरः, तत्र भवन्तं महाराज डा. विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयं द्रष्टुमागतः। तस्मै 'पुराण' पत्रिकाया नवीनोऽङ्क उपहारीकृतः।

राजस्थानराज्यपालः डा. सम्पूर्णानन्दमहोदयः महाराजकुमारः डा. रघुबीरसिंहश्च काशिराजन्यासस्य अधिवेशने न्यासधारिरूपेण सम्मिलितौ महाराज-काशिनरेशस्य अतिथी च आस्ताम्। ताभ्यामपि 'पुराण' पत्रिका प्रदत्ता। तौ पुराणकार्यविषये महाराजेन सह विचारविमर्शं कृतवन्तौ। पं. गिरिधारीलाल मेहतामहोदयः काशिराजन्यासस्य अधिवेशने न्यासधारिरूपेण प्रथमवारं समागतः।

Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti of Calcutta, and Prof. D. R. Mankad of Gujarat visited our Purāṇa Department on separate occassions, and acquainted themselves with its Purāṇa work. They also saw His Highness and discussed various aspects of the Purāṇa-work of the Trust. They were presented the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. They were also requsted to contribute articles to the 'Purāṇa', which they readily agreed to do.

We are thankful to all these distinguished guests.

प्रो. चिन्ताहरणचक्रवर्ती (कलकत्तानगरस्य तथा प्रो. डी० आर० मनकड) गुजरातप्रदेशस्य पृथक्-पृथक् समये पुराणविभागं निरीक्षितवन्तौ पुराणकार्यैः सह परिचितौ च जातौ। तौ तत्रभवन्तं महाराजमपि दृष्टवन्तौ, तत्रभवता महाराजेन च सह न्यासस्य पुराणकार्यविषयकं विचारमपि कृतवन्तौ। ताभ्यामपि 'पुराण' पत्रिका उपहारीकृता। तौ 'पुराण' पत्रिकायां प्रकाशनार्थं लेखान् अत्र प्रेषयितुं प्रार्थितौ अस्माभिः। ताभ्यां च एतत् सहर्षं स्वीकृतम्।

वयम् एतेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः विशिष्टातिथीभ्यः कृतज्ञतां प्रकाशयामः।

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